

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. V.—No. LI.—NEW SERIES.

MARCH 1, 1850.

PRICE 5d.

THE EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

In addition to the information we gave in the number of the *Reporter* for January last, we extract from the Blue Books, for the year 1848, the following particulars in relation to the British colonies, which will be found interesting.

JAMAICA.

POPULATION.

The only materials for any statement of the present population of Jamaica are the census which was taken in 1844; the general results of which were, that the whole population amounted to three hundred and seventy-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-two persons (377,432), which, upon the supposition that the whole area of the island rather exceeds four millions of acres, gives a density of about one person to eleven acres, or fifty-eight to a square mile; but half the island is still in a condition unfit for habitation, and the population consequently is very unequally and irregularly distributed; and many circumstances lead me to suppose that the census much underrated it. The negroes were supposed to be more than 291,000: the mixed or coloured class above 68,000, and the Europeans and persons of unmixed European descent only between 15,000 and 16,000. Both the negro and the mixed race are certainly increasing. Some thousands of East Indian and African immigrants have been added since 1844; and it may be safely stated that the entire population now considerably exceeds 400,000. The hamlets, villages, and towns, as they are called, of the negroes, which have sprung up in the interior and amongst the mountains, and in which they live in great physical comfort, are a remarkable and interesting feature in the state of the island.—P. 97.

COMMERCE.

My impression is, that there has not been any general and permanent decrease of the commerce of Jamaica during 1847 and 1848, though it certainly underwent some disturbance and interruption towards the close of 1846, and beginning of 1847, and the prices of the principal exports of island produce have fallen more than thirty per cent. within the same period. The returns of tonnage exhibit a very inconsiderable fluctuation.—P. 99.

AGRICULTURE.

The produce which is raised for exportation is, beyond all comparison, the chief object of the agriculture of Jamaica. The estates in the high grounds, which are called pens, and are laid out almost entirely in pasture, have been intended mainly for the raising of horned cattle, horses, and mules, for the use of the sugar and coffee estates; and the estates of all descriptions suffer together, inasmuch as the abandonment or impoverishment of the sugar and coffee estates diminishes the demand for stock. The culture of corn and other produce for consumption within the island, as provisions, has, as yet, been confined chiefly to the small freeholds or leaseholds of the negro population, but this branch of agriculture is likely to grow into importance. Salt fish, and salted and pickled meats and corn meal are brought from North America and the Spanish main, for which substitutes might certainly be obtained with more ease and advantage within the island. I am in hopes that the planters and other agriculturists of Jamaica will never again have a year of quite so much difficulty to contend with as the year 1847. There had not yet been time for any of those compensations to come into play, by which it may be hoped that the withdrawal of protection will be softened in its effects. The tremendous fall of prices had not yet produced a fall in the wages of labour; but a careful observer might perceive indications that with patience and conciliation on the part of the employers, this was likely to be brought about.

The most important improvement which could be made in the agriculture of Jamaica would be irrigation. But there is no conception amongst the planters of what might be done in this way, nor any capital that can at present be employed for the purpose. There is a constant complaint of the unfavourable turn the seasons have taken of late years; and, in some of the districts, which are capable, in wet seasons, of producing the heaviest crops, a drought makes the outlay of cultivation a dead loss; so that a proprietor, in spite of himself, is a perpetual gambler. Yet every spring and river in Jamaica consists of rain which has fallen on its surface; and though in the driest season it is a matter of difficulty to find a day which is exempt from rain on Blue-mountain Peak, no one has yet either kept a rain gauge on any of the highest ranges, nor calculated the daily waste of water which is poured into the sea by the Black River, the Cobre, or the Rio Grande, or any of the smaller streams.—Pp. 99, 100.

BRITISH GUIANA.

In the appendix to the first Report of the Select Committee on British Guiana and Ceylon, pp. 321-323, we find a very instructive communication from one of the stipendiary magistrates, Mr. James S. Beamish, respecting the cost of producing sugar, and the conduct of the labourers in the district over which he presided.

The number of estates from which he obtained returns was twenty-one, and the following are the results, viz.:—

Sugar, 5349 hogsheads, at \$57.60	\$308,101
Rum, 387,564 gallons, at 25 cents	96,891
Molasses, 130,480 gallons, at 10 cents	13,048

\$418,040

Cost of labour	\$209,936
Salaries and other expenses	104,968

\$103,136

In reference to the cost of cultivation, Mr. Beamish appends the following remarks:—"In those calculations it must be observed, that the average weight of the hogshead is put down much below the real weight of a forty-two-inch hogshead of good and well-cured sugar of the quality usually shipped from this district. The proportion of strong-proof rum is also two to one; and as I believe rum, proof twenty-four, could command, during the whole of last year (1848), from seventeen to twenty cents per gallon, I would have been nearer the mark in making the average thirty-five or forty cents from the price obtained for strong rum in the early part of 1848." He says, also, "deducting the value of the rum and molasses from the above cost of production, the average cost of sugar in the district last year would be a fraction under 2½ cents per pound. As several estates have said not only to have paid, but to have sunk money, sugar must have been made in others at a price which would bid all competition defiance."

From one of the estates in the district, Mr. Beamish obtained no return; the population in the whole district he ascertained to be 7629, or, on an average, 346 individuals to each estate; the number actually working for hire was, according to returns, 3500, giving 150 labourers to each property. In this district, at all events, there is no want of continuous labour; and the cause may be found in the following statement of Mr. Beamish:—"The situation is, for the most part, salubrious, the estates generally gaining instead of losing; most of them in the hands of capitalists, possessed of the means of extending cultivation to keep pace with the supply of labour."

In reference to the condition and conduct of the labourers, Mr.

Beamish makes the following remarks:—"On the general condition of the labouring population of the district, little can be added to my former report; commonly they are quiet, peaceable, and industrious. Crime of a serious nature is not on the increase among them; there is no squatting. As in most other parts of the colony, there exists an indisposition among parents to educate their children, arising from their ignorance of the benefits of instruction, and consequent unwillingness to pay for a future advantage of which they themselves cannot partake."

We find, on returning to page 303 of the same appendix, that Governor Barkly seeks to undervalue the statements so elaborately and carefully presented by Mr. Beamish; but we think without effect. The estate selected, for example, by him, "Het Vergenboegen," is under curators, and consequently, as is always the case, badly and expensively administered.

It is not presumed that the same amount of prosperity is enjoyed in other parts of the colony, and the causes are obvious,—want of capital, of drainage, and of judicious husbandry. In accounting for the recent increase of offences, Governor Barkly says, "I do not by any means imply that the milder offences are not correctly ascribed to idle habits produced by the resistance of the peasantry to the reduction of wages, nor even that resistance has led to agrarian outrages, which swelled the list of crimes before the Supreme Court. With one fourth of owners of plantations in a state of insolvency, the wages in arrear for months, and produce destined for their liquidation seized by creditors, it was impossible but that an angry spirit should be generated, and such collisions rendered probable." Mr. Barkly might have shown, but it did not suit his purpose, that one of the great causes of crime in Guiana may be traced to immigration; for we learn from his own as well as from the despatches of his predecessors, that the immigrants, who have been introduced in such vast numbers, have been the worst portions of the societies of the country whence they came. That a larger amount of demoralisation and crime has not manifested itself, is certainly not to be attributed to the wisdom of our rulers, either at home or in the colonies. Let us imagine for a moment what would be the moral results if a population almost exclusively males,—ignorant, idolatrous, and sensual,—were introduced among our own peasantry, for the purpose of competing with them in the labour market. Might we not expect, on the one hand, that the malignant passions would be aroused, and, on the other, that the native peasantry would, by a rapid process of assimilation, be brought down to the level of the immigrants? We certainly consider Government responsible for the evils which have resulted to colonial society in this respect, and would entreat them no longer to outrage humanity and justice by the continuance of such a system.

In turning to the Blue Books for 1848, presented to Parliament by her Majesty's command, we find that the native population of Guiana are rapidly withdrawing from the plantations, and settling themselves in the free villages and towns which have been erected by themselves. Mr. Hadfield says that "the increase of freeholders, and the persons residing on freeholds, has been both rapid and extensive. The date of the first settlement and conveyance by 'transport' of these lands to the emancipated labourers, was in the year 1838. On a tour of the colony, undertaken by me about the latter end of the year 1844, for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the lands so purchased and settled, and enumerating the lands and dwellings thereon, the population of those settlements was found to have amounted to about 19,000; at the end of June, 1847, it is seen, from the stipendiary magistrate's returns, to have been augmented to 29,000; and at the end of the year 1848, it appears, according to the same authority, to have amounted to 36,406; but, according to certain returns made by the police in the year 1848, put into my hands by the Assistant Government Secretary whilst this table was being prepared, the population of the rural settlements is stated at 44,443, considerably exceeding one-third of the total population." Now, we hesitate not to say, that, had these people been treated with anything like fairness; had they not been heavily taxed to bring in masses of immigrants, to reduce the value of labour; had they not been subjected to a vexatious and most unjust interference, on the part of the authorities, with the rights of labour; had they, in short, been wisely and honourably treated, they would have continued to a great extent with their old employers. But an opposite course of conduct has been observed towards them; and we now find Governor Barkly suggesting a variety of stringent measures to coerce them, as if those which have already so much irritated the people, and so signally failed in their intended effect, were not

sufficient to prove the impolicy of such doings. Mr. Barkly, with the instincts of a planter, finding that imprisonment with hard labour—such as the breaking of stones, &c.—is not sufficient for his purposes, now suggests a return to the whip and to the treadmill, the history of which, in the colonies, cannot be read without a shudder. After remarking that "the whip and the treadmill are now only traditionally known," he says, "no doubt there are great objections to the revival of the former, in a country where its irresponsible use is associated with the reminiscences of slavery; and it was not without hesitation that I even sanctioned the carrying into effect the recent sentence of an inferior Criminal Court of New Amsterdam, awarding a few lashes to two prisoners who had headed a mutinous movement in the gaol of that town." He then adds—"In the same ratio, however, that the revival of corporeal punishment, except under the closest supervision, would be dangerous, would it be really efficacious to permit the enforcement of the law passed by Sir James Carmichael Smyth, in exceptional cases, and to extend its operation, especially under the authority of a competent tribunal, to prisoners in gaol. I trust, likewise, that your lordship will have no objection to the treadmill being put into such a state of repair as shall enable it to be used for the correction of breaches of prison discipline, or for the punishment of the most incorrigible offenders."

We well know what all this means. But we trust that Lord Grey will not follow such insidious counsels. The ordinance referred to was passed during the apprenticeship system, but was not permitted to be carried into effect. To revive it now, would be an infamous proceeding. But the prisoners in gaol must not only be whipped, they must be starved; hence this planter governor states, that "Some further reduction of the prison dietary seems also to be requisite." We have a private letter before us, of a visit to one of the gaols in Guiana, in which the emaciated and wretched condition of the prisoners is forcibly dwelt upon. Yet it would appear that a still further attempt is to be made, to ascertain upon how small a quantity of coarse food, human beings can be sustained in prison. Much better would it be that Governor Barkly should devote himself to an earnest and thorough reform of the vicious system of Government which exists in Guiana, reduce the enormous expenditure which is pressing down the energies of the people, observe a conciliatory course towards the labouring population, and repress, with a strong and impartial hand, the tendency to oppress them by the dominant body. He might be the benefactor of the colony, but, we fear, from the tone of his despatches, that the planter is permitted to control the governor.

The returns of Mr. Hadfield give us a very deplorable account of the state of the emigrants on the plantations in Guiana. It appears that on the 31st December, 1848, there were on estates, 5,390 Africans, of these 4,305 are returned as at work; Portuguese on estates, 4,164; at work 3,276; Coolies on estates, 6,970; at work, 5,291; giving a grand total of immigrants on the plantations of 16,524, of whom 12,872 were at work. The deaths of the immigrants, during the years 1847 and 1848, are returned as follows:—"Africans, 369; Portuguese, 1749; Coolies, 1160; making a total of 3218. Births during the same period, Africans, 15; Portuguese, 37; Coolies, eight; in all, 60." Now, we ask, whether any facts can be presented more demonstrative of the folly and wickedness of the whole system of immigration, as carried on for the supply of labourers to British Guiana, than this? And yet we find, in the face of these facts, Governor Barkly says, in a despatch, dated June 18, 1849, "immigration must again proceed on an extensive scale to avert the ruin of this colony," with "permission to the planters to bring them under contracts for three or five years." Whence is the money to be obtained to import fresh supplies of immigrants? The colony has been over-taxed already. Is it proposed to burthen it still further by loans? Or is it intended to look for assistance to the British nation? We conceive that too much has been done already for this colony, and are firmly persuaded that, if the planters had been left to their resources, they would have been in a far more prosperous condition than they now are, if we may credit Mr. Barkly's latest description of them, for he says, "that the planters, as a body, no longer possess capital or credit." If such be the case, the sooner that class disappear from the colony the better. Let there be a bill enacted for the sale of encumbered estates in Guiana, similar to that which is operating beneficially in Ireland at the present time, and we should soon see a more active, energetic, and independent body of men engaged in developing the resources of that colony—where, and we quote Mr. Barkly as our authority, "it seems un-

reasonable to doubt that sugar cultivation must in the long run be profitable in a country like this, where it is carried on with less labour, and therefore more cheaply, than any spot in the world."

TRINIDAD.

It is not, I am sorry to say, in my power to give a very satisfactory account either of its actual condition, so far as its material prosperity is concerned, or of its future prospects.

In the imports of last year there was a falling off, as compared with 1847, of upwards of £120,000; the total amount being £309,257 against £429,278. Of the decrease, £100,000 are in goods coming from Great Britain, and £20,000 from Foreign States. The articles on which there has been the greatest diminution of consumption, are, cottons, linens, woollens, boots and shoes, hardware, malt liquor, tobacco, wines and spirits, plantation stores, perfumery, household furniture, lumber, and lard.

In the value of the exports there has been a still greater reduction, the amount being £211,721 as compared with 1847.

The total sums being for 1847	£493,852
" " 1848	282,131

At the same time the quantities of the articles exported do not show any proportionate defalcation, the loss being almost entirely to be attributed to the low price of produce.

	1847.	1848.
Sugar, lbs.	44,665,600	43,237,450
Molasses, galls.	950,887	833,367
Cocoa, lbs.	3,494,368	2,732,104

The total amount of revenue, as shown by the comparative statement in the Blue Book, is, for 1847, £82,627 9s. 6d.; 1848, £75,874 1s. 6d.; but to show the true receipt, the sums under the head of "Special receipts" should be deducted from each year, as being due to loans, which will leave a total diminution of revenue in 1848 of more than £20,000.

As may be supposed, this loss on the value of products has been, and continues to be, most severely felt by the whole population, least of all, probably, by the labouring portion. The members of this class have occupied themselves chiefly in growing a larger quantity of provisions, but they have not manifested any disposition to apply their labour more strenuously to the sugar estates. Hence, though wages have diminished by a fourth, and in some places by a third, the proprietors and managers still have to complain of a want of hands, which has been felt more severely than ever latterly.

Of the coolies that remain, though we continue to have in hospital generally on an average 150, yet many are steadily working on estates, and are considered the most valuable labourers.

The other classes of the community have suffered most from the depression, and to an extent which cannot but have a baneful effect upon the whole population.

It is in this way that such checks are felt more severely in small communities lately established, and therefore that they should be avoided—for the upper classes, whose respectability and credit it is most important to support, are for the most part struggling into a position, or maintaining themselves in one with difficulty. The rude shock which disturbs them, not only reduces them to a lower place in society, but puts them to the necessity of becoming indebted to the lower classes and almost dependent upon their will for assistance. Not only has this taken place here, but in many cases they have been compelled, from want of means, to relinquish the education of their children, and thus more lasting evil is done.

Notwithstanding unpropitious circumstances, I resolved at the end of the year to put in force the territorial Ordinance. It is impossible for me at present to say how far it may succeed, but from the spirit with which many of the wardens have begun their operations, I am inclined to augur well for it.—*Blue Book*, 1848, pp. 285, 286.

NOTE.—With respect to the territorial Ordinance referred to, it is described, by those who understand its true character, as most arbitrary and oppressive on those labourers who, by their superior industry and skill, have become possessed of small plots of land, and is likely very materially to interfere with the cultivation of provisions for the markets. The object of it is clearly to break up the small holdings of the negroes, and to compel them again to resort to the plantations for work.

BARBADOES.

CROP.

The sugar and molasses crop of 1848 yielded 45,900 hogsheads,

and a large supply of provisions (consisting of grains and roots) was raised for consumption and for exportation, of which no estimate can be given; yet, with these advantages, the resources of the island may be considered susceptible of further development, through the application of skill, capital, and enterprise.

POPULATION.

A census of the population was taken in 1844, which amounted, according to the returns, to 122,198; assuming the annual increase from the ratio of births and deaths at three per cent. per annum, the number in 1848 would be 137,741, and the area of the island being estimated at 166 square miles, the average number to each square mile would be about 830.

I am of opinion, however, that the numbers are larger, and with so dense a population it has been fortunate that the old system, under which the island depended for subsistence on imported provisions, has been abandoned, and that the industry of the country has been directed to the raising of supplies on plantations, a system of husbandry which has also introduced a useful rotation of crops.

PEASANTRY.

It has been by some considered that the supplies raised by the peasantry on their allotments might be altogether superseded by the cultivation of provisions by the planters. There are other advantages from encouraging occupiers of this class, as well as from the cultivation of provision crops by the sugar planters; but in deriving a part of their subsistence from their own grounds, they are able to afford their labour to the planters at lower rates of wages than they could otherwise do, besides that the practice is congenial to their habits, and conducive to their industry and morals.

These allotments on the plantations are for the most part held on tenancy at will, and at rents which are high, owing to the great value of land in Barbadoes. The price of land varies from £60 to £100 per acre in the sale of estates, and from £100 to £150 for small allotments.

The condition of the yeomanry who cultivate the sugar-cane, with other produce, stimulates the ambition of the peasantry, who, since emancipation, are eager to establish their independence in the possession of land. If they could obtain leases of their holdings, it is probable that they would be content to occupy on this tenure, but as they are not encouraged to do so, they make great sacrifices to acquire the means of purchase.

There being but little diversity of employment, the men and women, with their children, when old enough, engage in field-labour. Holding their allotments on so precarious a tenure, the wooden tenements which they inhabit exhibit no appearance of neatness and comfort, and the women who are thus engaged in external occupations have but little time for domestic employment, or to attend to their children, who are too young to be taken out to work.

These habits have also proved a discouragement to marriage, and however to be commended for their industry, and in general for their peaceable conduct, the moral condition of the peasantry of Barbadoes is unfavourably contrasted with that of Antigua. In that island, the early attention to education prepared the people for that complete emancipation which in 1834 led to the establishment of free villages, and to those relations between employer and labourer which have proved alike conducive to the welfare of both.

These villages were in the first instance formed by proprietors, through sale of allotments on estates which had gone out of cultivation; and in justice to the proprietors of Barbadoes it may be observed, that the general occupation and high value of lands would in some degree have proved obstacles to such settlements.

Some attempts, however, were made to improve the comforts of the peasantry, by the erection of substantial cottages on estates, but as these were not obtainable on a permanent tenure, the labourers have generally preferred to occupy their own fragile tenements, which they could carry with them, in removing from one plantation to another.

This unsettled condition of the labourers may, in a material degree, also be traced to the baneful influence of the system of apprenticeship, which marred the salutary effects of emancipation from 1834 to 1838, and from which the labourers in Antigua were happily exempted.

When estates were cultivated by slaves, the number maintained throughout the year had reference to the demand for their labour

at certain seasons, and such estates were considered to be "over-handed," but if "under-handed," their cultivation was proportionately restricted.

Hence the rapid rise in the value of property in Antigua, after emancipation in 1834, when by a freer distribution the number of labourers constantly employed on estates did not exceed the fluctuating demand for their services, and on some well-cultivated estates there were no resident labourers.

From the large population of Barbadoes, extra labour may at certain seasons be also obtained, but the demand of higher rent for their holdings, which is frequently demanded when the labourers work off the estate where they reside, gives to them an equitable claim for constant employment.

The disposition to check the natural distribution of labour has thus been more or less unfavourable to the progress of industry and economical management in all these islands, interfering as it has, in some cases, with associations for the performance of task-work; and in others, with some useful branches of general industry.

FINANCE.

Notwithstanding the commercial pressure in the last year, the revenue of the island was not materially affected. The fixed revenue for 1847 was £38,677, and that of 1848, £36,238, showing a deficit of only £2439, while there has been an increase in the incidental receipts of £464.

The entire revenue of 1848 amounted to £43,828, and the disbursements to £43,713.

The parochial expenses, including a provision for the poor, for the repair of churches, &c., are defrayed from rates levied by the vestries under authority of the legislature; they amounted, in 1848, to £14,000.

EXPORTS.

The exports in 1848 were £659,073, of which the exports to Great Britain were £554,251; while in 1847 the exports were £881,159, of which were exported to Great Britain £714,514. The tonnage employed in the trade to the United Kingdom in 1848 was 24,108; and in 1847, 27,076 tons, being a reduction of one-ninth; while the reduction of the exports was nearly one-fourth.

AGRICULTURE.

The agriculture of Barbadoes, although in some respects in advance of the neighbouring colonies, is susceptible of considerable improvement; and as the subject has latterly attracted much general attention, there is a prospect that alterations will be made in the management of property which may effect a material reduction in the cost of production. That a system of farming should have been profitably conducted at the expense and risk of absent proprietors, by the means of commercial agencies, at high rates of interest for the growth and manufacture of sugar, is rather matter of surprise, than that it should have led to incumbrances, and often to the ruin of estates.

The compensation paid by Parliament for the slaves, the institution of banks affording facilities of banking credit, and the liberation of the peasantry in 1838, were all favourable to those changes, in the rural economy of these countries, through which the greatest advantage might have been derived from industry and capital.

As the small proprietors and many of the peasantry on estates grow the sugar-cane, under engagements with managers of sugar works for the division of the produce, encouragement given to the most industrious of this class would progressively supersede the farming operations of the proprietor; and, with the assistance of banking credit, it is considered that the industry and frugality of such occupiers would enable them to raise crops of sugar at less cost than the present aggregate charges per acre, even on the best managed estates.

It would be to the advantage of the colonies that such changes should be gradually introduced; and it is therefore to be regretted that they should not have been in progress since 1838, the period when the system of apprenticeship, by reason of the mischiefs it had produced, was, by common consent, abandoned. The care and industry bestowed in the cultivation of small holdings and the management of stock, indicates the success which would have attended the encouragement of that class, while the maintenance for a time of central plantations, of limited extent, would be favourable to experimental farming, and the introduction of improved methods.

BRITISH GUIANA.—VAGRANCY—EDUCATION—LABOUR, &c.

An important despatch, addressed to Governor Barkly, in September, last year, has recently been laid before Parliament. Taken in connexion with another despatch, addressed to the same party in June, last year, we find his lordship's latest instructions as to the labouring population of British Guiana. We have no hesitation in saying that, notwithstanding the testimony of Governor Barkly to the contrary, and notwithstanding the credit which Lord Grey gives to that testimony, that we do not believe the causes of the depression of that fine colony are to be attributed either to negro indolence or to negro immorality, but to a series of acts on the part of the Government, the legislative body of the colonies, and of the planters themselves. No one acquainted with Guiana since the period of emancipation, whose judgment was not warped by his interests, would venture to condemn the labouring population, but rather to praise them. We know something of the character of the emancipated classes, and we feel persuaded that had they been treated with common fairness they would have proved one of the finest peasantry in the world. But how have they been treated? On their emancipation, instead of being dealt with as free-men, every means to coerce their labour was adopted. The plantain walk and fruit trees were cut down, to make provisions dear; they were not permitted to occupy the huts on the estate, but at a heavy price in the shape of labour, and were subject to the inconvenience of being turned out upon the public roads at a moment's notice; their little provision grounds were, in many instances, wantonly destroyed, and friends and near relatives, even husbands and wives, parents and children, residing on different plantations, were denied access to each other, except formal permission were given them by the managers of the estates. This was the spirit in which they were met, at the period of their emancipation. No wonder the people became restless and soured by the annoyances to which they were constantly exposed, and sought as early as possible an escape from the hands of their tormentors. They commenced the purchase of lots of lands belonging to individuals who had abandoned, from one cause or another, their plantations during the period of slavery; and when the planters began to find the people moving off, instead of conciliating them and allowing them to purchase waste lands on their estates, they began to cry out for immigrants, for the two-fold purpose of reducing the rate of wages, and of compelling them to submit to their terms. After having exhausted their own funds, they prevailed upon the Government to allow them to introduce labourers at the expense of the colony, and we feel convinced that, in one form and another, not less than £400,000 of the public money has been expended on immigration. Labourers have been drawn from India, from Africa, and from Europe, without any regard to humanity, justice, or sound policy. The people have been shamefully taxed for this purpose, and now behold the results:—the number of immigrants introduced at the public charge, up to the end of the year 1848, is, in round numbers, 45,000; only 19,000 were returned as being in the colony at the close of that year. Of these, only 14,000 returned as at work, the rest were in hospital or useless as labourers. A strict and severe account should be required of the colonial authorities as to what has become of about 26,000 of these immigrants, who, during the last few years, have been imported into the colony. They were mostly adult males in the vigour of their strength, but with the exception of the few comparatively who have left the colony, the rest must have perished miserably. Why, with all their pretended care of the immigrants, their colony and rural hospitals, their high wages, and cheap living, no less than 3278 of these wretched creatures died in the years 1847 and 1848; and yet, in the face of facts like these, Governor Barkly and Lord Grey have decided that Guiana is to have more immigrants, and we presume that new taxes, both local and general, are to be put on the people to pay for their introduction, or failing their inability to bear the burden, we presume Lord Grey will come again before Parliament, as he has done before, for grants of British money to bolster up Guiana extravagance. We trust that, if there be a single independent member in the House of Commons, he will protest against the continuance of this crying injustice. But to return to results,—the importation of such vast masses of immigrants has had the effect, in connection with the causes already enumerated, to drive the great bulk of the emancipated negroes from the plantations; for we find, at the end of 1848, only 20,000 of them remained on the estates, and of these only 14,000 are returned as at work. Whereas the great

bulk of them have got into the free villages which have been established, containing 10,541 houses, which they have built, giving accommodation to 44,443 inhabitants. In consequence of the folly of the planters, in refusing to let these people purchase waste lands on the estates, they have been driven, in some cases, to remote districts, where it is difficult for them to obtain any other means of subsistence than that which they derive by raising provisions. And here, again, if these people attempt to sell their surplus stock without an expensive licence, or to take them for sale in a corial, or canoe, or cart, without an additional licence, they are subject to legal proceedings; and the consequence is, that the price of provisions is enormously dear, and the results of their industry are lost to themselves and the community at large. There is no squatting in British Guiana, and the vagrancy which is so much complained of, will be found chiefly confined to the immigrants. But, it is said, the negroes are immoral—that they are semi-barbarous, and are reverting back to the practices of their African forefathers. Why, we predicted that this would be the case, if savage Africans, taken from the holds of slavers, were poured in upon them, in addition to the idolatrous and sensual Hindoos, fresh from the worship of Juggernaut, and the stews of Calcutta and Madras. We trace the demoralisation of the negroes to the doors of the Colonial Office and the Court of Policy of British Guiana. Lord Grey's panacea for this state of things is education. If we are rightly informed, there are in this colony between eighty and ninety places of worship, and a large number of schools. Those constructed upon the voluntary principle suffer greatly from the unfair competition they are made to endure with those which are sustained, in whole or in part, by the Government. Had there been no interference with the question of education by the authorities, but it had been left to each section of the Christian Church in that colony to provide it for the young people connected with their several congregations, we have little doubt that much larger numbers of the people would be now in course of education than the returns show to be the case. We are entirely opposed to the new scheme propounded by Lord Grey, for we clearly perceive its effect will be to destroy what yet remains of freedom in the matter of education.

Referring to a preceding article on British Guiana, we take leave, for the present, of Lord Grey's despatch.

EARL GREY'S DESPATCH TO GOVERNOR BARKLY.

Downing-street, Sept. 31, 1849.

Sir,—I have received your despatch, No. 110, of the 18th June, together with the Blue Book for 1848, and I have read, with the attention it so well deserves, the report your despatch contains on the general state of the colony. The views which you have presented of the condition of the population, in reference to its physical, moral, and industrial aspects, and in respect to crime and instruction, are most important; and they appear to me to afford a strong confirmation of the opinions I had previously adopted, and of which my despatch of the 1st of June contains a full exposition, as to the causes of the present difficulties with which we have to contend, and as to the general character and tenor of the measures by which they may best be surmounted. I may refer you to that despatch for the purport of the remarks which your present statements would suggest; at the same time that I find, in all of these statements, renewed proofs that the most active and energetic measures, and the most cordial co-operation of all the authorities, are needful to rescue the community from the evils under which it suffers; and I find also some particular points on which I am desirous to make additional observations.

2. The tendency of the negroes to withdraw from the cultivated districts, and place themselves beyond the reach of supervision and authority, is an evil of great magnitude, and one with which it is exceedingly difficult to grapple. So far as vagrant laws can be made effective for this purpose, they should be vigorously enforced; but I fear that any amount of police which the Combined Court would enable you to keep on foot, would provide but very partially for this object; and every endeavour should be made to encourage the antagonistic influences by which such a disposition on the part of the negroes would be naturally kept in check. They have always been represented to be a social and gregarious race, averse to solitude, and inclining to have their abode near the highway, the town, the market-place, and the church. Any facilities afforded them for so settling themselves would be an important auxiliary to the measures, which should also be carried, as far as

may be practicable, for restraining them from vagrancy and squatting. Squatting may indeed be prevented, and ought to be prevented, on the unoccupied lands of settled districts; but, if once the negroes should fall back so far towards barbarism as to prefer the wilderness to the settled country, it is obvious that the authority of the law cannot reach them there. If this is really to be apprehended, it is the more important that the laws against squatting should be aided and accompanied by measures for facilitating the acquisition by the negroes of small holdings, on secure tenures, at a light cost of conveyance, in the neighbourhood of the plantations.

3. I concur with you in thinking that the only effective cure for the immorality which you state to prevail so generally amongst the labouring population is to be sought for in religious instruction, and in the more general and improved education of the young, more especially in the latter, for I fear that the improvement of the adult population, whose habits are already formed, is rather to be desired than expected. But I think that, to effect this object, it is necessary to adopt more decided measures than you have proposed; and, instead of looking to the effect which might be produced by lowering the school fees, and making up the deficiency of means for the support of schools from subscriptions or other resources not furnished by the negroes themselves, I am strongly of opinion that the law should require each district to support effective schools, by rates levied on its own population, who, in return, should have the right of sending their children free to the schools so supported. I would leave them, indeed, the option of sending them or not, as they pleased; but I believe that the negroes would value education more highly from being required to pay for it, and that they would not fail to avail themselves of schools of which they could not escape the cost. I have dwelt so fully, on previous occasions, upon the importance of giving the schools an industrial character, that I need not revert to that point now, nor do I apprehend that any difference of opinion will interfere with the endeavour to carry out this view. With respect to other differences, I sincerely trust that no minor distinctions of religious opinion in the community will interfere with an object of such vast importance as the inculcation of Christian principles in a peasantry which appears, through the want of it, in great danger of falling back into a barbarous and heathen condition of life. You are probably acquainted with the system of education which, from the earliest period of their colonisation, has been adopted by what are now the New England States of the American Union. It is a system which appears to me to comprise much that is worthy of imitation in a community situated like that of British Guiana.

4. The account you have given of circumstances connected with agriculture and industry make it more clear than ever that, hitherto, the real effect of protection has been to raise the wages of the negroes, which, without any such artificial augmentation, would have been more than sufficiently high. There can be no doubt that, after wages have been thus enhanced, it is more difficult than it would have been previously to enforce the submission of the negroes to the rate which the natural value of their labour will command; but, at the same time, I am convinced it is essential to the true interests of all parties that this should be done; and I am also persuaded that it will be found to be practicable, if the public peace and the security of property are maintained by a vigorous enforcement of the law, aided by such means as I shall take another opportunity to suggest, for the detection and repression of crime.

5. I do, indeed, regret much to learn that the negroes, rather than submit to a reduced rate of wages, are foregoing the indulgences in food and clothing which they have hitherto coveted; and this disposition on their part confirms the opinion I had previously entertained, that it is in the highest degree desirable to relieve the general revenue, as far as possible, by placing on the districts all charges properly of a local character. This, and economy in the management of the public resources, which no one is more anxious than myself to promote by all just and prudent means, would, I hope, render it possible to reduce the duties on imported provisions and clothing, so as to encourage the negroes to continue the use of these articles; for in regulating taxation we ought, I think, to keep constantly in view the importance of at once rendering a considerable amount of industry necessary to obtain a mere maintenance, and encouraging a taste for the comforts of civilised life, by making them as cheap as possible. Both these objects would be promoted by providing for as large a pro-

portion as possible of the necessary charges of the public service through local and direct taxes or rates.

6. I concur with you in thinking that immigration may be made accessory to the prosperity of the colony; but, in order to be so, I think that it ought to be conducted on the principles of the Mauritius Ordinance, as explained when that Ordinance was transmitted to the governors of the West Indian colonies. On those principles the immigrants themselves would, in effect, pay the larger portion of the cost of the immigration.

7. I concur with you also in thinking that any direct laws for regulating wages and enforcing labour would be highly inexpedient, because all experience shows that they would certainly fail; and for the same reasons I am of opinion that long contracts for labour will equally fail, though in deference to the wishes of the planters I have given my consent, as you are aware, to the enactment of a law authorising contracts for three years, in the case of immigrants introduced at the expense of the colony; and, of course, there can be no reason for refusing to its settled inhabitants the right of entering into similar contracts, if they think fit to do so. I must, however, repeat the expression of my own opinion, that it is altogether a mistake to believe that energetic and intelligent exertion on the part of the labourers can be secured by contracts of long duration. On the contrary, the experience of this and of every country in which industry flourishes, appears to me to prove that such exertion is most effectively stimulated by a system of contracts for labour, which either the employers or the labourers can terminate on short notice, when they find it their interest to do so.

8. It is a great satisfaction to me to find myself supported by your authority in placing reliance on the extraordinary natural resources of the colony, if wisely dealt with, for its ultimate restoration to prosperity; how soon and how effectually this restoration may be accomplished, will depend upon the planters themselves, upon the exertions which they shall make individually, and upon the political co-operation which they shall afford to the Government in devising and executing measures for the public good. Nor would it be for their true interest, in my opinion, to lead them to look to Parliament, or to any extraneous resources beyond those already proffered, for that improvement of their condition which, to be well founded and durable, must necessarily be their own work.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GREY.

THE BRAZILIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

We were unable, from want of space, in the last number of the *Reporter*, to give a complete analysis of the evidence of Lord Howden in reference to the slave-trade. We now add all that is material in his evidence upon other and important branches of the question submitted to him. It will be seen, upon consulting the whole of his lordship's evidence, how little has been done, or can be done, for the suppression of the slave-trade, without the cordial co-operation of the Government and authorities in Brazil. As to the amount of abolition feeling which is said to exist in Brazil, we think the observations of his lordship on this point leave us but little room to expect much assistance in that quarter.

FAILURE OF THE SQUADRON.

Has your lordship had an opportunity of observing what the state of feeling is, as to the probable success of our cruisers upon the African coast? The feeling in Brazil, as expressed to the English, is, that it is a failure.—Do you think that is the real feeling, or an assumed opinion, in order to try and discourage us? I believe the great capitalists and slave-dealers, who can afford to lose a ship now and then, are not much terrified by our squadron, because they put down their losses in precisely the same way that any merchant puts down his losses by the accidents of trade, and they calculate the average. The small slave-dealers, who have merely shares in a particular venture, are those who mostly suffer, and are often ruined by our captures.—It was given in evidence before the House of Commons by Mr. Cliff, that there had been, at first, great apprehension of the effect of the English cruisers; but that, then, practically speaking, it was found that they did little, and that the fear died away? I think that is correct as regards the great speculations.—p. 35.

THE SLAVE-TRADE CANNOT BE PUT DOWN BY CRUISERS ON THE COAST OF BRAZIL.

Suppose that the principal ports of Rio Janeiro and Bahia were blockaded, in the strict sense of the word, by England, in conse-

quence of a breach of the treaties with us, would not that strengthen the Brazilian Government wonderfully in that respect? It is very easy to talk of a blockade (for I believe you are not speaking of a commercial blockade, but a blockade for the capture of slavers), but the difficulties attending it are serious. Firstly, the time of your cruisers would be almost entirely taken up with overhauling vessels who were not slavers, and who honestly came across them, and you would thus be constantly, vexatiously, and gratuitously interfering with legitimate trade. Secondly, it would be almost impossible to pilots to show you the passages through which the slavers slip in, and land their cargoes. The configuration of the coast is very extraordinary; along a great part of the coast, almost parallel with it, there is a reef of rocks; the harbour of Pernambuco is made by this reef, which happens there to rise out of the water; this reef of rocks runs for a great many hundred miles, with narrow openings in it; all these broken parts, and other passages, as well as the creeks and little harbours upon the coast, are known to the slave-dealers, who can take their vessels in, whereas you cannot possibly follow; to say nothing of international law, and the assumed inviolability of a certain extent of sea, forming the territorial line of every maritime country. Thirdly, the slave vessels are often built for not more than two or three voyages; they are just nailed together, of rough-hewn wood, and sometimes without knees; the result of which is, that they are almost all in a sinking condition when they arrive from Africa on the Brazilian coast. Fourthly, these vessels arrive on the coast, having consumed all their provisions, as the passage, from the trade wind, can be approximately calculated, and you will have to victual them all, if you send them elsewhere. If you possessed a geographical point in the neighbourhood, things would be different.—Are not many of the vessels built in Africa? I should think not; a great number of them are brought from America, and bought for the trade; but the greater part of them are built under the eyes of the Government, in the harbour of Rio Janeiro. While I was at Rio, a magnificent brig, called the *Galgo*, of 400 tons, with gilt trucks and quarter-galleries, left the harbour of Rio on a slave voyage; she had a regular permission from the authorities to go out at night, which is against the harbour regulations, in order to escape the vigilance of a man-of-war brig that I had desired to watch her. This brig was an exception to the great majority of slavers, which are very poorly found and slightly built; they arrive, almost always, from Africa, not only in a sinking state, but also in a starving state, having little or no water, very often with hardly any provisions, and, moreover, generally with some disease on board. If your blockade was meant to capture those vessels when they arrive on the Brazilian coast, what are you to do with them? They are neither sea-worthy, nor are they victualled; they have, perhaps, an epidemic disease on board. Where are you to send them? You cannot expect the Brazilians to admit them into their ports, and if you were to send them up to Demerara, or to some Vice-Admiralty Court, you have to go for many months in the year against a head wind, and to make a second passage of probably three times the duration that has been occupied in making the passage across the Atlantic, and which has brought the miserable slaves into the state of wretchedness in which you find them. You must also reflect on a practical consideration, which is this—the smaller the cruisers on the coast of Brazil, the better they have always been found to answer; so that one prize-crew for a large slaver captured, and sent on a second voyage, completely cripples the cruiser, as she must return to port if she has to provide another prize-crew, and she may be six months before she sees any of her men again.—It was given in evidence before the House of Commons by Mr. Bandinel, of the Foreign Office, that the great repression of the slave-trade has always been from the effect of cruisers upon the coast of Brazil; are the committee to understand that your own view is entirely different upon that point? I have given my reasons why I doubt whether cruisers, acting on the coast of Brazil, without some simultaneous combination with other cruisers on the coast of Africa, would have any decisive effect, in itself, in putting an end to the trade; it might check it to a certain amount by capturing a few of its vessels, for some would of course be taken; if we could get the Brazilians to co-operate with us internally, the object might be attained; but I do not think it ever will by our efforts alone.—pp. 29-32.

EFFECTS OF A COMMERCIAL BLOCKADE OF THE BRAZILIAN PORTS.

Your lordship's observations have been as to the effect of stationing cruisers for the sake of intercepting vessels from Africa;

what is your opinion upon this point? The principal imports into Brazil, upon which the revenue arises, are at two or three of the principal ports.—Then, supposing the British Government were, as a belligerent, to blockade those harbours, for the non-fulfilment of the treaties by the Brazilian Government, would not that strengthen the Government in enforcing the fulfilment of those treaties, if it were so disposed? That is a question which I would rather not answer; I can only state facts, and cannot, in my peculiar position, take upon myself to answer, publicly, this question; I will, however, state that the custom dues of Rio compose one-third of the whole revenue of Brazil, and that, from the want of internal roads, the great extent of the empire, and the great towns being chiefly on the coast, not only all interchange of things, but of ideas, takes place along the coast; so that a blockade, besides its fiscal considerations, would throw the whole empire into confusion.—You consider that Rio is capable of being easily blockaded? As a mere matter of blockade, independent of commercial considerations connected with this country, I consider that it would be; it could be far more easily and efficaciously blockaded than most ports—than Buenos Ayres, for instance, where the blockade was a farce.—p. 30.

PROBABLE EFFECT OF REMOVING THE SQUADRON.

Has your lordship formed any opinion as to what would be the probable effect of removing the cruising squadron, which now interferes with the slave-trade? I should think, at first, there would be a very great increase of slave importation into Brazil; but I think it probable that the feeling of apprehension, which I now conceive and state to be modified, might operate strongly when it was found that there were enormous quantities of slaves imported more than what was necessary, merely to fill up the vacancies of deaths, or the immediate necessities of gradual culture, assuming that the price of slaves fell greatly. The price of slaves might fall so low as to check further importation for a time.—p. 33.

BRAZILIAN ABOLITIONISTS.

Very recently there has been considerable discussion in the Chambers upon the subject? There is an abolition party in Brazil; so far as that, every year, there are five or six deputies that get up and make speeches as would, even in the Parliament of England, be looked upon as very philanthropic and excellent speeches. As in all southern nations, it is astonishing the facility of speaking possessed by the Brazilians.—To what class do the few abolitionists belong? They belong to all classes when they find it convenient to speak as abolitionists, often as a pretext of party; but there are not a few honest, enlightened men, who do look with sorrow at the prospect of their country becoming wholly African, or else ceasing to be cultivated, unless some new system is adopted as to labour.—They are not country planters? Very few planters are abolitionists.—But there is a party in the Chambers who are anxious to carry into effect the treaties which they have contracted with England and with other powers? Yes, there is; and, besides those, there is a small party of abolitionists, who do believe that the slave-trade is a curse to the country.—Is it your lordship's impression that the Government of Brazil, if they chose to do so, might very effectually put a stop to the slave-trade? That is the most difficult question you could ask me; it is impossible to set any limits to an energetic will, and an honest purpose; but there are difficulties that require both.—In the debates on the slave-trade, in the Chamber in Brazil, do the advocates and defenders of the slave-trade try to give a kind of philanthropic colour to it? The abolitionists take very high grounds, as a matter of principle and morality; but they also say that it is the curse of Brazil, and is destroying Brazil; its defenders make a plea of uncompromising necessity, and of our having no right to legislate for them; but there is not much debate upon the question; the abolitionists' speeches are often pretexts of opposition rather than the expressions of any real philanthropy.—There is no genuine anti-slavery feeling there? I think not, except in the breast of a chosen few; at the same time, as I said before, there are enlightened people who really do fear that the country will be African, instead of American, some time or another; and that the people will lapse into complete barbarism, and become a second St. Domingo, if the importation of blacks be not stopped.—pp. 31-35.

SURINAM.—ITS PRESENT DEPRESSED CONDITION.—EMANCIPATION PROPOSED AS A REMEDY.

For several years past, we have with great earnestness pressed on the attention of our friends in Holland, as well as on that of the Dutch Government, the absolute necessity of emancipation in their fine colony of Surinam. We have known that the distresses of the great body of planters have been extreme; that the labouring population, from various causes, were rapidly diminishing; and that the several measures which had been tried to prop up the declining prosperity of the colony, as well as to procrastinate the period of abolition, were only aggravating the evils they were intended to cure. The picture of Surinam, drawn on the spot by competent persons, which we now present to our readers must, we think, enlighten the eyes of the Dutch Government on the point of duty, and urge all our friends to renewed exertions in the cause of human freedom.

Advices from Surinam to the 12th instant, says the *Royal Gazette* of the 7th of January last, reached us the day before yesterday. Our files of Paramaribo papers do not paint the state of affairs in that ancient Dutch province in the most flattering colours. If British Guiana, with emancipation, free-trade, and the want of capital, credit, and hope—which we are daily assured are its monster evils—is not well off, Surinam, with slavery, and the old régime of the tropics in full force, is much worse. Such, at least, must be the conclusion, if we are to credit its own journals; and it has always been the pride of a Dutchman, that “his word is as good as his bond.”

“Around us,” says the *Algemeen Nieuws en Advertentie Blad* of the 2nd, taking a cheerful view of the coming year of 1850, “around us we hear nothing but complaints. People seek and find matter in everything to picture to themselves the lot of the place in which they live as being more bitter than that of any other country.” A very happy disposition the Surinamese must possess! Yet it is not to be denied, that, although our Paramaribo contemporary strives his best to play the amiable part of a comforter, his cordial is not the most exhilarating; and it must be confessed, that taking his own showing, there is no slight need of consolation.

The following extracts, from the same journal, bear out this remark, and also show the agricultural position of the colony. “Let us trace upon the foreground the decline of our agriculture,—the fountain head of our existence. The crop of the year just expired has been considerably less than that of the preceding. The plantations have by no means yielded that quantity of produce which might have been fairly expected from the fertility of the soil, and from the appearance of the vegetation everywhere. The cause of this has been ascribed to heavy rains. Some, however, think that it is rather to be sought for in that want of proper drainage upon the estates, which has resulted from the falling off in the number of our field labourers; and, likewise, from its having, in consequence, become impossible on many estates to bring new lands under cultivation in the place of exhausted soils.” Again:—“Of a large number of once flourishing plantations few remain which can now be called such. Of 39,000 plantation slaves existing in Surinam in the year 1839, about 34,000 remained at the end of 1844. In the beginning of 1848 there were scarcely 32,000, and now not more than 30,000. So deteriorated has property become within the last few years, that many of these estates have not been able even to defray their yearly expenses; nor a number of proprietors to furnish their slaves with the supplies to which they are by law entitled. The consequence of these things and of the gloomy prospect for the future has been, that many properties in the course of last year were forced to sale. Thanks, indeed, to the indulgence of many considerate American merchants, who supply estates with provisions, and of mechanics, engineers, carpenters, and others, who have worked for them and never got paid—not to mention managers, whose salaries are generally in arrear, and who hold claims against estates to heavy amounts, many of them were not forced to execution sale—a proceeding which, from the depreciated value of all sorts of property in the colony, could have been attended with no other result than to involve a number of persons in ruin. Bearing all this in mind, we require no other proof to convince us that the colony stands on the brink of a yawning abyss, into which it must inevitably plunge, unless some new and better system be speedily adopted.” * * *

Well! these are the evils; but what are the remedies?

The *Algemeen Nieuws en Advertentie Blad*—the official journal of the colony, by the way—sees no other help than in three things. The first is, strange as it may seem, emancipation; the second, the Baron Von Griesheim's project in this colony—the division of labour in plantation management, by separating the cultivation of the land from the manufacture of the produce; and the third, “European colonisation,”—in other words, the introduction upon a large scale of Dutch and German labourers from Europe. In support of this latter plan, to which our own experience of Irish labourers on some coffee estates in Demerara has not been favourable, the success which has attended the European

colony of agricultural labourers settled at Groningen, on the banks of the river Saramacca in Surinam, is pointed to. It is contended, however, that nothing can be done without emancipation. Emancipation must be the prelude to everything good. We confess we are rather surprised at meeting the following sentiments in the organ of the public opinion of a slave colony. We had always been led to suppose that Great Britain, instead of being an object of admiration and respect in such communities, was one of detestation and obloquy, in consequence of the part she had played in the abolition of slavery. On the subject of emancipation in the British West Indies it is observed:—"The object that Great Britain had proposed to herself with so much earnestness, and had carried through with so much power, was entirely successful. The old system, upon which her plantations as well as our own were founded, has been substituted for a reformation, which, in point of commerce and of morals, has brought forth the expected fruits. The labourers have displayed a degree of civilisation never before known among them, of industry never before so energetic, and of good order never before looked for from them. * * * * It is impossible that our agriculture can any longer proceed upon its ancient footing; our labouring force is dying away, and the social position they hold must undergo a revolution."

Now all this very clearly shows two things, that must be very gratifying; the first, to every British subject who feels a pride in the grandeur and glory of the British Empire, and the wisdom and far-seeing sagacity with which its councils are directed; the second, to the philanthropic portion of mankind—namely, first, that slaveowners at last admit, in the extremity of their present distress, that the emancipation was a prudent stroke of policy on the part of our mother country; and, secondly, that they now contend that their own self-interest counsels them to imitate the same example. Is the cause, then, of free labour desperate?

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, FRIDAY, MARCH the 1st, 1850.

MR. HUTT'S MOTION ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. Hutt, the member for Gateshead, has given the following notice of motion, which, it is expected, will come on for debate on Thursday next, the 7th instant; viz., "That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be pleased to direct that negotiations be forthwith entered into for the purpose of releasing this country from all treaty engagements with foreign States, for maintaining armed vessels on the coast of Africa to suppress the traffic in slaves." Strictly speaking, we have but one treaty which binds this country to use armed vessels for the suppression of the inhuman traffic, and that is the treaty negotiated with France in 1845. The treaties which we have with other powers, whether in Europe or America, provide for the use of such repressive means, but do not render their employment imperative. France has obtained permission to withdraw one-half of her cruisers; and, it is understood, has given notice that, at the expiration of the first term specified in her treaty with this country, she will withdraw the remainder, and retain only a sufficient number of vessels on the coast to protect her commerce. Brazilian vessels are now captured under an Act of Parliament; and, instead of being adjudicated in a Mixed Commission Court, as they were formerly, are tried in some one or other of our Vice-admiralty Courts. It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Hutt's notice is, technically speaking, a nullity. He should have moved for the repeal of the Act passed in 1845 (8 and 9 Victoria, c. 122), without which not a single Brazilian slaver could be captured, notwithstanding our treaty with that country. Mr. Hutt cannot, we think, be ignorant of these facts; and, therefore, we are led to suspect his object is simply to release all foreign countries, in treaty with us, from their obligations; and to leave them perfectly free to carry on the traffic to their hearts' content. Had the hon. gentleman meant otherwise, he would have provided some efficient substitute, but this he has not done. But, further, it strikes us that another object is aimed at by the motion; namely, to take away all claim, on the part of this country, for the liberation of Africans who have been imported into Brazil and the Spanish colonies contrary to treaty. We regret to be compelled to arrive at these conclusions, but the hon. gentleman has done nothing, as yet, to show that he sincerely desires the abolition of the slave-trade. In view of these facts, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have addressed the following circular to the members of the House of Commons, in which they will discover the views entertained by them.

CIRCULAR.

SIR,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society having had their attention directed to the terms of a motion

relating to the withdrawal of the squadron employed on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, which they are informed will be submitted to the attention of the House of Commons on Thursday, the 7th of March next, by Mr. Hutt, beg respectfully to call your attention to the following statement of their views in connection therewith.

First.—The Committee are entirely opposed to any measure which should, either directly or indirectly, release Brazil and Spain from the obligations they have contracted to this country under treaties for the complete suppression of the slave-trade, and the liberation from slavery of all Africans, with their descendants, who, contrary to the stipulations of the said treaties, as well as their own laws, have been illicitly and illegally imported into their territories and colonies respectively; or who may hereafter be introduced, in violation of existing engagements. According to the lowest computation, the number of slaves introduced into the Spanish colonies, contrary to treaty, as shown in the tables submitted to the House of Commons, by the Select Committee on the Slave-trade, in 1848, is 753,000; and into Brazil, since it became independent of Portugal, has been 849,000. Every survivor of these is entitled, upon every principle of international law and justice, to freedom.

Secondly.—The Committee, after the best consideration they can give to the subject, feel it to be their duty to advise the withdrawal of the African squadron, without reference to the opinion of those who are opposed to it on principle, because, notwithstanding their number, zeal, and activity, they have failed to secure the great object to which they were devoted; and have clearly demonstrated that so long as slavery exists in Brazil and the Spanish colonies, and the Governments of these countries either evade or refuse to fulfil their treaty obligations, the traffic will continue, and be regulated, chiefly, by the demand for their produce in the markets of Europe and America; and, in this view of the case, the Committee cannot but deplore the enactment of the Sugar Act of 1846, which opened, for the first time, the markets of this country to such produce; by which the slave-trade has been greatly stimulated, and the system of slavery itself strengthened and extended. The Committee feel assured that one effect resulting from the unsuccessful efforts of the squadron to destroy the slave-trade, has been to aggravate materially the sufferings and mortality of its wretched victims. To withdraw, then, from a useless contest is necessary, and cannot be dishonourable.

Thirdly, the Committee are, however, in no wise favourable to the abandonment of all measures for the extinction of the slave-trade; on the contrary, it is their firm conviction that it is in the power of the British Government, sustained by the British Parliament, to effect that great object in a manner perfectly consistent with good faith, the national honour, the stipulations of treaties, the laws of Spain and Brazil, and the highest interests of humanity and freedom; and they recommend that a formal demand be made on the Governments of Brazil and Spain, for the freedom of all Africans who have been imported into their several territories and colonies, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, and their own laws. To this important point the Committee would draw your serious attention, as a most efficient mode of abolishing the slave-trade. In the event of Brazil and Spain attempting to evade the demand, or to procrastinate its strict and honourable fulfilment, the Committee further recommend that it be notified to them that their produce will be excluded from the British markets, until slavery itself be abolished by them.

Fourthly, The Committee, whilst most anxious, in view of the higher interests of humanity and freedom, the establishment of justice among professedly Christian nations, and the civilisation of Africa, to exclude the produce of slave labour from the British markets, are nevertheless persuaded that it is the duty of the legislature to encourage the importation of all foreign free productions, for home consumption, on equal duties with those from the British territories and plantations abroad, and to reduce those duties, for the benefit of the consumers, to the greatest possible extent.

I am, Sir, on behalf of the Committee,

Yours respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

Petitions, in accordance with the foregoing circular, have been prepared by the Anti-slavery Committee, and will be presented to both Houses of Parliament.

We will thank our friends in the country to forward any petitions they may have, either to their borough or county members, or to 27, New Broad-street, in time for presentation on Thursday next.

It is impossible to read, without the liveliest feelings of interest, the proceedings of the United States Congress, relating to the all-absorbing question of slavery. The great bulk of the Southern members have assumed a hostile position, and have declared that, rather than allow their cherished institution to be interfered with, or that it should be restricted within its present limits, they will dissolve the Union. With their accustomed vigour and arrogance they have assumed the offensive; and, if bluster, and fury, and insolence be the indications of a good cause, they will infallibly succeed in their designs. It is impossible to say what course the trimmers and timid men in Congress will pursue; they are alarmed, or affect to be alarmed, and will probably avail themselves of Mr. Clay's compromise resolutions, which, while they affect to hold the balance between the contending parties, are thoroughly Southern in their spirit and objects. It is impossible to read them without indignation. There is nothing elevated, or generous, or humane, in any portion of them. They yield nothing to freemen but what they have a right to have; whilst they give to slaveholders that to which they neither have, nor can have, any righteous claim. California is to be left to form its own Government, and either to accept or reject slavery; New Mexico is to have a territorial Government, and the question of slavery left an open one. Texas is to be propitiated, by having her debt paid, provided she relinquish her claims upon New Mexico; though, in point of fact, she has no claims whatever on that important province. So much for Mr. Clay's concessions to the freemen of the North. But, to propitiate the slaveholders of the South, he proposes that Congress shall declare it to be inexpedient to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, or to interfere with the internal slave-trade, and that it shall make more effectual provision for the restitution of fugitive slaves escaping into the free States. Thus would this celebrated statesman attempt to reconcile the jarring interests of freedom and slavery, and save the "model republic," from dissolution. We have great confidence, however, that he will be defeated. He does not go far enough for the Calhouns, the Clingmans, the Footes, and the Clements; and too far, for even a large number of moderate men in the House of Representatives. Everything, however, will depend upon the firmness of the Free-soilers, and the attitude taken in the free States by the people. If the question be made one of principle, it will be carried triumphantly in favour of freedom; if, however, it should unhappily degenerate into one of party, then the victory will be on the side of slavery. The Senate is equally divided in number between the North and South; but there are several Northern senators with Southern principles, who will give the slaveholders their aid. The House of Representatives, however, possesses a clear majority against the extension of slavery, if they continue true to their pledges, and to the several constituencies who sent them to Congress.

To show the feeling of the Southern slaveholders, and the attitude which is taken, both North and South, on the exciting questions, we give the following extract from a speech of Mr. Clingman, on the President's message relative to California and New Mexico. It may be regarded as a truthful exhibition of the state of parties in different sections of the Union at the present time:—

Mr. Clingman said that the course and extent of the advocates of non-slavery at the North is not understood generally in the South. He had supposed that if California and New Mexico should come into the Union as States, the slave agitation would cease. His opinion was changed.—He thought that to make the territories free would be regarded as an anti-slavery triumph. There is a bitter feeling at the North, which will continue to increase. It is partly owing to the old abolition societies, but mainly owing to the efforts of politicians. Both parties court abolition votes, and are brought up to the abolition platform. Nearly the whole press of the North are against the South. He might make exceptions. The *New York Herald*, with great influence and a wide circulation, has the candour to publish facts on both sides of the question. If this matter goes over to the next election, very few gentlemen can come to Congress unless they stand on the abolition platform. If the South give way it will accelerate the abolition of slavery in the district, and wherever it exists. Suppose the South were to say to the North: "You shall not occupy the territories unless you take slaves there." Of course the North would object to this; but these gentlemen say they cannot live where there are slaves; they even object to divide the territory; they will not give the South one foot, although the South contributed two-thirds of the men in the war which preceded the acquisition. But for the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, from time to time, in this House, slaveholders would have gone to California, to work the mines, and make that a slave State. The North say that slavery is degrading, but a higher state of civilisation never prevailed at the South than now. If the South give way, what will be the result? California, New Mexico, Minnesota, Oregon, and Deseret will come into the Union as free States, and the North will have entire control in the Senate, and two members to one of the South in this House. Twenty years would not pass before they would alter the Constitution to suit themselves. The state of feel-

ing at the South had become considerably weakened in consequence of Northern aggression. The South would acquiesce in anything like justice; but when they asked for anything like this, they were met with the insane and senseless cry of "The Union." This fell on his ears like the words of the robber who, if his victim resists, shouts "Peace!" "Union!" We don't want lectures—we want justice. Our ancestors acquired their liberty by the sword, and we are determined, at all hazards, to preserve it. He would say, let Southern men stand up with him, and do nothing until the question is settled. Let the wheels of Government stop. Every officer of the Government would then be interested in the settlement of the question. The people of both sections would then be obliged to make provision for their support. If the interregnum should continue long, the arrangement would become permanent. Seeing the danger, the South has the wisdom and courage to make the issue now, when they have the power to resist. They must triumph in the struggle, and the abolitionists then would not have power to hurt them.

We shall wait with anxiety the issues of the great contest now taking place in the United States. Our hopes are stronger than our fears; but still it is impossible to say to which side the victory may incline.

It is with great satisfaction we learn that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has had its attention directed to the cultivation of cotton, during the past year, as a matter of the highest interest to the manufacturing districts. It is felt to be a great impediment to industrial operations, to be so entirely dependent upon the United States for supplies of the raw material, as at present: Nor is this all: The dangers arising from servile insurrections, which, at any time, may break out, may well occasion alarm, and lead our manufacturers to direct their attention to other countries for supplies, not liable to the same contingencies, and from whence they may obtain cotton wool, of good quality and low prices. A short time since the Chamber held a general meeting of its members, on the questions relating to British India, and the possibility of obtaining a large supply of cotton from that country. Since then, the Directors state they have received numerous communications relative to the power possessed by many of our colonies to supply this country with immense quantities of that article. It appears, from the information submitted to them, that a considerable supply might be obtained, were it not that their resources were not wisely developed by the Government. Let them be left to their own energies, unshackled by heavy taxation, and free to enact and administer their own laws, and there would be no want of raw cotton and other valuable products for the home market. We feel that Government might, in many ways, stimulate the growth of cotton, not only in India, by wise arrangements respecting the land and by lightening the burthens upon industry, but in the emancipated colonies also, where there is abundance of soil calculated for its production, and a climate admirably adapted to bring it to perfection.

We beg to call the attention of our readers to an important despatch from Lord Grey to Governor Barkly, of British Guiana, which deserves their serious consideration. Should the recommendations of his lordship on the subject of education, vagrancy, and immigration be adopted, we are thoroughly persuaded that, instead of advancing the solid interests of the colony, he will only increase its debts, and still farther alienate the labourers from their employers, and, what is still worse, from the Government of this country. How sad a thing it is that so fine a country, and so tractable a people naturally, should be injured by over-legislation and mis-government.

Letters have been received of a most important character, from our esteemed friends, Messrs. G. W. Alexander and John Candler, now on a visit to the British colonies, for the purpose of inquiring into their present condition and future prospects. They have finished their tour of inspection of Barbadoes, British Guiana, Trinidad, and were at Grenada at the latest dates. Thence they proceed to St. Vincent, the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, touching at such English islands as may lay in their track, the Danish islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, and, finally, they propose to close their investigations in Jamaica. The regret felt is, that our friends are not able to remain longer in the several colonies which they visit, as they present fields for Christian usefulness and benevolent exertion of an important kind. The information they have already collected is extensive and valuable, and when it shall have been ripened by further examination and reflection, will be found of great value to all sincerely desirous of advancing the true interests of the colonies, and the welfare of their populations. It will be satisfactory to our readers to know that Messrs. Alexander and Candler, and their ladies, are in good health. We may add that, in the several colonies which our friends have visited, they have held Anti-slavery and Temperance meetings, which have been largely attended, and apparently with great success.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND ITS REMEDY.

To the Editors of the "Leeds Mercury."

In the last number of the *Reporter* we gave, at full length, an article from the *Leeds Mercury*, in which its able and much respected editor attempted to combat the grounds taken by the Anti-slavery Society, in relation to the exclusion of the slave-grown produce of Brazil and the Spanish colonies, in the event of their respective Governments refusing to fulfil their treaties with this country for the complete suppression of the slave-trade. We made some remarks in an editorial in reply; and we have now the pleasure of presenting to our readers an excellent letter from the pen of Mr. W. E. Forster, of Bradford, in defence of himself and friends, and in further reply to the comments of the *Leeds Mercury*.

GENTLEMEN,—The concluding paragraph of your remarks last week on "The Slave-trade and the African Squadron," emboldens me to address you on the subject. You excuse the meetings held in Bradford, Wakefield, &c., for voting the memorial suggested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, by the supposition that these "towns, celebrated" as they are "for their attachment to free trade, must have passed it unawares," dazzled or deceived by the "persuasive eloquence" of Mr. Scoble. As the seconder of this obnoxious vote at Bradford, and as one of those who, though firm free-traders, cannot avail themselves of your charitable explanation, allow me, as briefly as I can, to give the reasons why, after having "the whole argument before us," we do yet most heartily "sanction the principle involved."

The question in dispute is, I imagine, simply this:—The slave-trade carried on by Spain and Brazil not only is, but long has been, in direct violation of treaties with our Government, for which treaties the British tax-payers have paid to those countries £1,300,000 in hard cash. A large proportion, therefore, of the slaves now in bondage in Cuba and Brazil having been illegally introduced, they are, by all principles of international law, as well as by the laws of those States themselves, free men and free women.

As to the truth of this statement, and as to our duty as citizens to press upon our Government to call upon these treaty-breakers to fulfil their compact, we are all agreed. Moreover, I imagine we also agree, that the effect of such fulfilment would be, not only the stoppage of the slave-trade, but, in fact, the abolition of American slavery.

So many slaves would be liberated in the above-named countries, that it would be impossible to withhold from the remainder their freedom; the United States could not long endure to be the sole slave-holding civilised community, for even Jonathan will soon grow weary of wielding the "beneficent whip," when there is no one left but Mr. Carlyle and the "Marshal Haynaus" to hold up his hands.

But these Governments, when we ask them to keep their treaties, will probably do what they always have done, tell us they will not. What, then, are we to do next? Now, it is in reply to this question that you and the anti-slavery men are at issue. You say, "Keep asking them, keep telling them that it is wicked to steal slaves and hold slaves, and break compacts; that it is decidedly undesirable that any people should transgress the law of nations, as well as the law of God." The anti-slavery men say, "We will keep asking them, but we will not keep to asking only,—we will do this and more; we trust that in time their consciences will awake, but at present they are very sleepy, and as neither we nor the slaves can afford to wait for the millennium, meantime we will appeal also to what we know is awake—their self-interest. The inhabitants of these States fill their pockets by selling of sugar, which they grow by means of these slaves. If we refuse to buy this sugar, their pockets will not fill so fast; well, then, while their slaves remain slaves, we will refuse to buy, trusting that if their consciences be in their pockets, we thereby have a chance of reaching them."

In other words, these Cubans and Brazilians have stolen the labour of these Africans; we, in the benevolence of our hearts, have bought this labour, in order to give it back to its right owners; but these thieves not only will not give us value received for our hard-earned money, but actually expect us to buy these stolen goods; and, alas for our consistency! we do not disappoint their expectations. Last week Mr. Scoble was telling us we should cease to be their "receivers;" you object, and say we should not. Now, if I take in detail your objections, perhaps I can most quickly show why I am inclined, nevertheless, to follow his advice. You object—

1st. That the measure recommended would be "irritating to both the Government and the people of Spain and of Brazil," because "foreign dictation."

My reply is, that a mere refusal to buy is not dictation. A man offers me a horse cheap—because he has stolen it. I tell him I cannot accept his offer, because I do not wish to go partners with him in robbery. That is not dictation. If I were to say, "You robbing rascal, not only I will not buy your horse, but if you do not forthwith restore it to the poor helpless man from whom you took it, I will give you what you most richly deserve, a hearty good thrashing," that would be dictation, tantamount in the case in question to a threat of war, the usual penalty for a breach of a solemn treaty; but it is not proposed to inflict this penalty, only to prove sincerity by declining to benefit by this breach.

2nd. You say, "The principle on which fiscal hostility would be based is altogether untenable, and" (or I suppose you mean because) "it is impossible to carry it out." You must not exclude the slave-sugar of South America, because you cannot or will not exclude the slave-cotton of North America, the serf-flax and tallow of Russia, &c.

I reply, first, that the term "fiscal hostility" is, as I stated above, incorrect—a determination not to participate in iniquity not being an act of hostility; and, secondly, that one evil cannot justify another, and I may add, the attempt at such justification is always a sign of weakness. I confess I have faith, perhaps you will say, credulity enough, to believe that if the British Legislature were to declare that, after, say this day five years, it would prohibit the importation of all slave-grown cotton—that by that day all the cotton in the United States would be free-grown. John Bull is so good a customer to Jonathan, that the latter, even while inveighing against his scruples as crotchets, would find it to his profit to

suit them. I say, I have faith that the principle would stand so severe a test as this; but if we dare not subject it to what I grant would be a fearful trial, yet that is no reason why we should discard it, when there is little or no possibility of failure. Surely all political problems are questions of degree, and Reformers must be allowed to choose their own battleground, to fight the evil against which they can contend, rather than sit with their arms folded, because they cannot abolish all evil. For example, Mr. Cobden tells us we ought not to lend our money to the Czar to keep Hungary down. The *Times* replies, it is nonsense to appeal to the sense of duty of the money lender, because you cannot ensure or expect that he will always abide by it. Nevertheless, you agree with Mr. Cobden that this is a case in which it may be well to remind the man who has money that he has, or ought to have, a conscience also. Perhaps you will say that the two cases are not parallel, because the one is advice to individuals not to do wrong, and the other is an attempt to prevent them from so doing by a legislative enactment; but how can there be one law of right and wrong for a nation, or men collectively, and another for its citizens, or men individually? These treaties were national acts, and the consent of the people of this country to import this sugar is a national connivance in all the atrocities resulting from their non-performance. Doubtless, in the present state of society, no principle can be realised in political practice, without regard to prudence or immediate probable consequences. It is not fair to any principle to make it run a-muck; but though allowing this truth, to refuse to practise it in a possible case, because another appears to be an impossible case, would be, in fact, to discard all principle, and binding ourselves hand and foot, to instal the devil as our political master. Let us remember the old proverb, "Two blacks cannot make a white," and "Every tub should stand on its own bottom."

3rd. You object that "excluding the produce of Spain and Brazil would punish the people of England quite as much as the people of those countries, both our consumers of sugar, coffee, &c., in the price of those articles, and our manufacturers in cutting off important markets for their goods."

To this I can only reply, that I am so possessed with a sense of the horrors of this traffic in human flesh, that in order to check it, I for one (and I fully believe you would do likewise) am willing as a consumer to pay more for my sugar, and as a manufacturer to risk the closing of a market to my goods. Nay, further, I am willing to exercise far more self-denial than this, namely, to ask my operative fellow-citizen to pay this increased price for what is to him almost a necessary of life, and even to run the risk of diminishing the demand for his labour. I believe this risk to be a very slight one—but any such risk is to me most fearful; still I know too well the generous nature of English, most especially of Yorkshire artisans, to fear that they will think him hard who asks them not to sweeten their tea with the blood, and earn their bread by help of the torture and murder of their fellow-creatures. And depend upon it, the risk is but slight. Generosity and humanity, and, remembering the debt we yet owe to Africa, I may add justice and honesty, would, in this case even, turn out to be the best policy. My firm trust is that, as is well argued in the last number of the *Westminster Review*, to which I beg to refer yourselves and your readers, the adoption of this measure would, by enlisting interest on the side of humanity, enable these slave-trading States to shake off the incubus of slavery, which there, as well as everywhere else, deadens all energy, and blasts their soil as with a curse; and that the effect would be that before long their inhabitants would be free men, and consequently more industrious, more enterprising, more prosperous—in a word, better customers. But this brings me to your

4th objection, viz., that this step would be "bootless"—"as futile as lashing the waves"—the export, and consequently the production of slave-grown sugar would not, you say, be lessened; only other, more unscrupulous creatures would buy it instead of ourselves. Were this objection true, of course it would be conclusive. We cannot afford time, just now, for wave-lashing, but, I confess, it does seem to me that you have yourselves removed and disproved this objection by your statement of the previous one. You say the price of sugar, in our markets, will be raised; if so, of course its consumption will be diminished, for I need not remind political economists, like yourselves, of the invariable law, that the price of an article is the measure of its consumption. If, then, less sugar be consumed, less will be produced, and the diminution will take place in those countries where the cost is increased, namely, in Cuba and Brazil, so long as they persist in forcing us to impose a duty on their produce, by the employment of slave-labour. Accordingly we find that in consequence of the passing of our Sugar Act, the number of slaves exported from Africa is computed to have increased from 36,758 in 1845, to 76,117 in 1846, and to 84,356 in 1847. Mr. Edward Baines did, indeed, in his speech at Leeds, dispute the connection of this increase with that Act, because, years ago, the number of slaves exported was higher than in either of the years above quoted. This argument is a proof, were one wanted, of that gentleman's continued loyalty to the cause of the negro, to which he has so often and so ably proved his attachment; for nothing but his natural abhorrence of any share in the responsibility of the measure against which he was so strongly warned, could have induced so acute a logician to resort to it.

It was proposed to open the British market to Cuba and Brazil sugar-growers; the leaders of the anti-slavery party said—If you do, they will manufacture more sugar, and therefore put up more machinery—that is, import more slaves, slaves being their machinery! They said, therefore, "You will cause an increase of the slave-trade, and the effect is, the slave-trade is increased—more than doubled." Is it, then, good logic to assert that the acknowledged effect does not proceed from its natural cause, because, in time past, other causes, now no longer in operation, produced a similar effect? I now come to your

5th, And only remaining objection, which I take last, because it surprises me most. You object to the memorial because the granting of its prayer "would be establishing a moral tariff interfering with the general practice of free-trade."

Excuse me expressing my gladness that this paragraph did not appear till after the York Protectionist meeting. I confess I am glad that no monopolist was there able to state that the editors of the *Leeds Mercury*, the great Yorkshire champion of the principle of free-trade, had supposed it possible that a "moral tariff" could "interfere with its practice." I have myself such firm faith in that principle, that I believe its practice is not only not contrary to a moral tariff, but is, in itself, the most moral, I may say the only moral tariff. But what is free-trade?

Freedom of the labourer to sell his labour to whom, and for what he will. Give back to the Brazilian labourer this freedom, restore to him his right to the sweat of his brow, and then apply the principle of free-trade fully, recklessly, to him and to all his compeers. If by free-trade you mean free-trade in stolen goods, then would a *moral tariff* interfere therewith, but that never can be your definition of free-trade. But, after all, what is a tariff? Like all other legislative acts, it is but the voice of the people expressed through its mouth, which is its Parliament; and I confess I do wonder that in your pages I should find a sneer against any such expression, because it is a moral one. Believing, as I do, that the enforcement of this measure, to which you are opposed, would tend greatly to the removal of this terrible evil, I do not object to it because it would be a *moral* act, aye, a most righteous and most moral act, but I feel that it would be an immoral sin of omission on my part, were I not to do what little I can as a citizen to promote it.

I have already trespassed so long on your columns, that I will not trouble you or your readers with a few observations I had intended making on the cruiser question.

My only excuse for taking up so much of your space as I have done, is your attack last week on those free-traders who, like myself, supported Mr. Scoble, and I know your love of fairness too well, to fear that a mere difference of opinion will prevent your admission of this attempt at their defence. In unabated respect for your motives, and admiration of the ability and honesty with which you invariably express your sentiments,

Believe me to remain, dear Sirs,

Your most obedient servant,

W. E. FORSTER.

MR. CARLYLE AND THE NEGRO QUESTION.

We conclude, from page 30 of the last number of the *Reporter*, the article contained in *Fraser's Magazine* for January last:—

There is a portion of work rendered necessary by the fact of each person's existence: no one could exist unless work, to a certain amount, were done either by or for him. Of this each person is bound, in justice, to perform his share; and society has an incontestible right to declare to every one, that if he work not, at this work of necessity, neither shall he eat. Society has not enforced this right, having in so far postponed the rule of justice to other considerations. But there is an ever-growing demand that it be enforced, so soon as any enduring plan can be devised for the purpose. If this experiment is to be tried in the West Indies, let it be tried impartially; and let the whole produce belong to those who do the work which produces it. We would not have black labourers compelled to grow spices which they do not want, and white proprietors, who do not work at all, exchanging the spices for houses in Belgrave Square. We would not withhold from the whites, any more than from the blacks, the "divine right" of being compelled to labour. Let them have exactly the same share in the produce that they have in the work. If they do not like this, let them remain as they are, so long as they are permitted, and make the best of supply and demand.

Your contributor's notions of justice and proprietary right are of another kind than these. According to him, the whole West Indies belong to the whites: the negroes have no claim there, to either land or food, but by their sufferance. "It was not Black Quashee, or those he represents, that made those West India Islands what they now are." I submit, that those who furnished the thews and sinews really had something to do with the matter. "Under the soil of Jamaica the bones of many thousand British men,"—"brave Colonel Fortescue, brave Colonel Sedgwick, brave Colonel Brayne," and divers others, "had to be laid." How many hundred thousand African men laid their bones there, after having had their lives pressed out by slow, or fierce torture? They could have better done without Colonel Fortescue, than Colonel Fortescue could have done without them. But he was the stronger, and could "compel;" what they did and suffered, therefore, goes for nothing. Not only they did not, but, it seems, they *could* not have cultivated those islands. "Never by art of his" (the negro) "could one pumpkin have grown there to solace any human throat." They grow pumpkins, however, and more than pumpkins, in a very similar country, their native Africa. We are told to look at Haiti: what does your contributor know of Haiti? "Little or no sugar growing, black Peter exterminating black Paul, and where a garden of the Hesperides might be, nothing but a tropical dog-kennel, and pestiferous jungle." Are we to listen to arguments grounded on hearsays like these? In what is black Haiti worse than white Mexico? If the truth were known, how much worse is it than white Spain?

But the great ethical doctrine of the discourse, than which a doctrine more damnable, I should think, never was propounded by a professed moral reformer, is, that one kind of human beings are born servants to another kind. "You will have to be servants," he tells the negroes, "to those that are born *wiser* than you, that are born lords of you—servants to the whites, if they are (as what mortal can doubt that they are?) born *wiser* than you." I do not hold him to the absurd letter of his dictum; it belongs to the mannerism in which he is enthralled like a child in swaddling clothes. By "born *wiser*," I will suppose him to mean, born more capable of wisdom: a proposition which, he says, no mortal can doubt, but which I will make bold to say, that a full moiety of all thinking persons, who have attended to the subject, either doubt, or positively deny. Among the things for which your contributor professes entire disrespect, is the analytical examination of human nature. It is by

analytical examination that we have learned whatever we know of the laws of external nature; and if he had not disdained to apply the same mode of investigation to the laws of the formation of character, he would have escaped the vulgar error of imputing every difference which he finds among human beings to an original difference of nature. As well might it be said, that of two trees, sprung from the same stock, one cannot be taller than another but from greater vigour in the original seedling. Is nothing to be attributed to soil, nothing to climate, nothing to difference of exposure—has no storm swept over the one and not the other, no lightning scathed it, no beast browsed on it, no insects preyed on it, no passing stranger stripped off its leaves or its bark? If the trees grew near together, may not the one which, by whatever accident, grew up first, have retarded the other's development by its shade? Human beings are subject to an infinitely greater variety of accidents and external influences than trees, and have infinitely more operation in impairing the growth of one another; since those who begin by being strongest, have almost always hitherto used their strength to keep the others weak. What the original differences are among human beings, I know no more than your contributor, and no less; it is one of the questions not yet satisfactorily answered in the natural history of the species. This, however, is well known—that spontaneous improvement, beyond a very low grade,—improvement by internal development, without aid from other individuals or peoples—is one of the rarest phenomena in history; and, whenever known to have occurred, was the result of an extraordinary combination of advantages; in addition, doubtless, to many accidents of which all trace is now lost. No argument against the capacity of negroes for improvement, could be drawn from their not being one of these rare exceptions. It is curious, withal, that the earliest known civilisation was, we have the strongest reason to believe, a negro civilisation. The original Egyptians are inferred, from the evidence of their sculptures, to have been a negro race; it was from negroes, therefore, that the Greeks learnt their first lessons in civilisation; and to the records and traditions of these negroes did the Greek philosophers, to the very end of their career, resort (I do not say with much fruit) as a treasury of mysterious wisdom. But I again renounce all advantage from facts: were the whites born ever so superior in intelligence to the blacks, and competent by nature to instruct and advise them, it would not be the less monstrous to assert that they had therefore a right either to subdue them by force, or circumvent them by superior skill; to throw upon them the toils and hardships of life, reserving for themselves, under the misapplied name of work, its agreeable excitements.

Were I to point out, even in the highest terms, every vulnerable point in your contributor's discourse, I should produce a longer dissertation than his. One instance more must suffice. If labour is wanted, it is a very obvious idea to import labourers, and if negroes are best suited to the climate, to import negroes. This is a mode of adjusting the balance between work and labourers, quite in accordance with received principles: it is neither before nor behind the existing moralities of the world: and since it would accomplish the object of making the negroes work more, your contributor at least, it might have been supposed, would have approved of it. On the contrary, this prospect is to him the most dismal of all; for either "the new Africans, after labouring a little," will "take to pumpkins like the others," or if so many of them come that they will be obliged to work for their living, there will be "a black Ireland." The labour market admits of three possible conditions, and not, as this would imply, of only two. Either, first, the labourers can live almost without working, which is said to be the case in Demerara; or secondly, which is the common case, they can live by working, but must work in order to live; or, thirdly, they cannot by working get a sufficient living, which is the case in Ireland. Your contributor sees only the extreme cases, but no possibility of the medium. If Africans are imported, he thinks there must either be so few of them, that they will not need to work, or so many, that although they work, they will not be able to live.

Let me say a few words on the general quarrel of your contributor with the present age. Every age has its faults, and is indebted to those who point them out. Our own age needs this service as much as others; but it is not to be concluded that it has degenerated from former ages, because its faults are different. We must beware, too, of mistaking its virtues for faults, merely because, as is inevitable, its faults mingle with its virtues and colour them. Your contributor thinks that the age has too much humanity, is too anxious to abolish pain. I affirm, on the contrary, that it has too little humanity—is most culpably indifferent to the subject: and I point to any day's police reports as the proof. I am not now accusing the brutal portion of the population, but the humane portion; if they were humane *enough*, they would have contrived long ago to prevent these daily atrocities. It is not by excess of a good quality that the age is in fault, but by deficiency—deficiency even of philanthropy, and still more of other qualities wherewith to balance and direct what philanthropy it has. An "Universal Abolition of Pain Association" may serve to point a sarcasm, but can any worthier object of endeavour be pointed out than that of diminishing pain? Is the labour which ends in growing spices noble, and not that which lessens the mass

of suffering? We are told with a triumphant air, as if it were a thing to be glad of, that "the Destinies" proceed in a "terrible manner;" and this manner will not cease "for soft sawder or philanthropic stump-oratory;" but whatever the means may be, it *has* ceased in no inconsiderable degree, and is ceasing more and more: every year the "terrible manner," in some department or other, is made a little less terrible. Is our cholera comparable to the old pestilence—our hospitals to the old lazarettoes—our workhouses to the hanging of vagrants—our prisons to those visited by Howard? It is precisely *because* we have succeeded in abolishing so much pain, because pain and its infliction are no longer familiar as our daily bread, that we are so much more shocked by what remains of it than our ancestors were, or than in your contributor's opinion we ought to be.

But (however it be with pain in general) the abolition of the infliction of pain by the mere will of a human being, the abolition, in short, of despotism, seems to be, in a peculiar degree, the occupation of this age; and it would be difficult to show that any age had undertaken a worthier. Though we cannot extirpate all pain, we can, if we are sufficiently determined upon it, abolish all tyranny; one of the greatest victories yet gained over that enemy is slave-emancipation, and all Europe is struggling, with various success, towards further conquests over it. If, in the pursuit of this, we lose sight of any object equally important; if we forget that freedom is not the only thing necessary for human beings, let us be thankful to any one who points out what is wanting; but let us not consent to turn back.

That this country should turn back, in the matter of negro slavery, I have not the smallest apprehension. There is, however, another place where that tyranny still flourishes, but now for the first time finds itself seriously in danger. At this crisis of American slavery, when the decisive conflict between right and iniquity seems about to commence, your contributor steps in, and flings his missile, loaded with the weight of his reputation, into the abolitionist camp. The words of English writers of celebrity are words of power on the other side of the ocean; and the owners of human flesh, who probably thought they had not an honest man on their side between the Atlantic and the Vistula, will welcome such an auxiliary. Circulated as his dissertation will probably be, by those whose interests profit by it, from one end of the American Union to the other, I hardly know of an act by which one person could have done so much mischief as this may possibly do; and I hold that, by thus acting, he has made himself an instrument of what an able writer in the *Inquirer* justly calls "a true work of the devil." D.

MISSIONARY OPERATIONS IN WESTERN AFRICA—THE MENDI MISSION.

It is our intention to give, from time to time, such information in relation to missionary operations in Africa as the records of the various Missionary Societies, as well as our own private resources, may open up to us. We rejoice in the missionary efforts which are being made, and we would that they were much more abundant. From facts which we have already collected, we are convinced that many incidents of interest may be presented to the notice of our readers. The following details are taken from the Report of the American Missionary Association, a Society which separates itself entirely from slavery, and seeks no support from any implicated in that unrighteous institution:—

MENDI MISSION—KAW-MENDI.

Missionary—Rev. George Thompson. Native assistant—Thomas Bunyan. Under appointment—Mr. J. S. Brooks, Mrs. Fidelia Coburn Brooks, Mrs. Thompson, and Sarah Kinson (Mar-gru), a Mendi African. Total, 6.

The providences of God in relation to this mission have been very peculiar. Ten years ago, forty Africans, recently stolen from their native land, were captured in the Spanish schooner *Amistad*, near the shores of Connecticut. After a long and severe struggle on the part of their friends against the Courts and Government of the United States, and influential citizens thereof, they were by the Supreme Court declared to be freemen, and guiltless of any breach of the laws of our country, or of nations. After their freedom had been secured, a portion of the funds so freely contributed by anti-slavery men for their defence remained in the hands of the committee who had the general management of it. These funds they determined to expend in sending the Africans back to their country.

Two ordained missionaries were sent with this company of liberated Africans. One of them was compelled, by sickness, to leave the mission almost immediately after his arrival, since which time, although it has been the constant desire of the Society to keep at least two well-qualified missionaries in that field, with two very brief exceptions, there has been but one; and for the space of nine months after the death of Mr. Raymond, the only labourer which the Society had in that field was a converted Mendi. Under these adverse circumstances, the mission has made

almost continual advances in prosperity, until, at one time, its school numbered nearly one hundred scholars. During much of this time the country has been almost eaten up by famine, the mission has been surrounded by war, and, to all human appearance, threatened with immediate destruction. Amid all this, however, it has stood, and still stands, apparently a monument of God's preserving care of all those who are willing to trust their defence wholly with Him.

In our last annual Report, the arrival of Mr. Thompson and Mr. Carter at Sierra Leone was announced. Their passage from that port to the mission premises was very tedious, and greatly trying to the health of both the missionaries. Owing to the season of the year in which they arrived at Sierra Leone, they were four weeks in going one hundred and thirty miles, as long as they had been in going from New York to that port. Mr. Carter, separating from his companion, went forward in an open canoe, and, after much exposure, reached the Mission-house on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 17th. That evening he gathered together the children of the school, and the other attendants at the mission, for prayer. This was the first and last missionary labour which he was enabled to perform. Before the next morning he was in a high fever, and died on the 25th, just three days after Mr. Thompson's arrival. The feelings of Mr. Thompson, at this eventful commencement of his missionary life, can better be conceived than described. His first work was attendance at the dying bed of his beloved associate, his next assisting in making his coffin; his first sermon the funeral sermon of him to whom he had looked for counsel and aid.

During the long interval that occurred between the death of Mr. Raymond and the arrival of the new missionaries, some of the children were taken from the mission by their parents, who despaired of the coming of the new missionaries, so that the greater part of the sixty-eight children that remained at the mission at the arrival of Mr. Thompson, were those that had been redeemed by Mr. Raymond from slavery or death, and regarded him, or the missionary in charge, as their only earthly protector. Accordingly, Mr. Thompson's arrival was hailed by them with the most clamorous joy. They rushed to meet him in a mass, thrusting forth many hands at once to be grasped by him in friendly greeting. The emotions produced in Mr. Thompson's mind were overwhelming, and he could only turn aside and weep. Soon after his arrival was known, the children that had been taken away were brought back by their parents. The long-continued war, and the depredations made upon the mission-farm by hordes of half-starved and savage warriors, had caused such a scarcity of food throughout the entire country, and even at the mission, that Mr. Thompson was compelled to refuse to receive them, except upon the condition that the parents would provide food for them. The promise to do so was in some instances given, and the Committee are encouraged to hope that even from this adverse providence good may be found to result. Nearly seventy children are under the absolute control of the mission, and cannot separate or be separated from it without imminent hazard of slavery or death—a fate from which the mission cannot save them, except by retaining them under its immediate protection. The natural capacities of these children, their gratitude for the redemption of their lives and liberties, and their desire to retain the good-will of the missionaries, promise rapid improvement, not only in the duties of the school, but in the several departments of agricultural and mechanical employment in which they are instructed. This cannot fail to have an effect upon those who witness it, to increase the desire that their children should possess similar advantages. In this way, they will be led to contribute to the support of their children while being educated, and the mission will sooner be enabled to become self-supporting.

The numerous chiefs about the mission are very friendly to it. According to the custom of the country, they have expected presents from the missionaries whenever they have had interviews with them. Mr. Thompson has wisely attempted to relieve the mission from the expense attending this custom, and when remonstrated with by some of the inferior chiefs in relation to it, he suggested that the mission could be removed farther inland, where they could be released from this exaction. The instant reply of the chiefs was, "No, no! you must not go—we like you—you must stay here—the country is yours."

The mission, situated in the midst not only of slavery but of the slave-trade, has ever refused to give the least countenance to the idea that man can possess property in man. Except in one or two instances, which occurred during the interval between Mr. Raymond's decease and the arrival of his successors, not even the chiefs of the country have ever been permitted to place the badge of servitude upon any man while on the mission premises, or to carry any man bound across them. The good effect of the opposition thus shown to slavery, together with the direct appeals of the missionaries to the principal men of the different tribes is beginning to manifest itself. Slavery and the reduction of men to slavery are, however, so intimately connected with their savage life, that rapid progress cannot be expected—except in connection with revivals of pure and undefiled religion, and the conversion of men to God.

The sugar cane and cotton grow very well in that country, and if American Christians could send out business men, who could teach them the manufacture of sugar, and the best method of raising cotton, it would

contribute much to the overthrow of slavery, and facilitate the progress of the Gospel. The mission makes earnest appeals for such assistance.

The present condition of the mission is promising. The committee are happy to report the appointment of Mr. and Mrs. Brooks to the mission, who with Sarah Kinson (Mar-gru) expect to sail from Philadelphia for Sierra Leone early in October. After a residence of three years in this country, during which she has made commendable progress in study, Mar-gru is about to return to Africa, prepared to aid in the intellectual and domestic education of her fellow-countrywomen, and we trust with a desire to become useful to them. Two of the three captive girls of the *Amistad* will then be at the mission. The death of the third was announced in our last annual Report. These two are both hopefully pious. Some of the men who composed the company of captives of the *Amistad* yet remain connected with the mission, but the exact number of these the committee have no means of knowing.

The committee cannot close this part of their Report without presenting the earnest inquiry, whether our Association is not loudly called upon to do more, much more, for Africa? Mr. Raymond always regarded the mission at Kaw-Mendi as the first of a chain of posts, stretching far away into the interior, each to be manned by Christian warriors, male and female, whose only weapon should be the sword of the Spirit, whose code of warfare the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and whose strife might be, even at the sacrifice of their lives, to honour God, and impart the blessings of the life that now is, and the hope of eternal life to those whose country they should invade. This object he ever kept before him, as have also the other members of the mission; and they have so prepared the way that the chiefs of different tribes, residing seven days' journey in the interior, claim our missionaries as theirs, and ask for the establishment of a mission among them. So far as Africa is concerned, the providence of God has already opened the country to us, and is now inviting us to enter. It remains with the members and patrons of our Society to say how vigorously the work shall be prosecuted.

A reason, more powerful perhaps than any other, to induce us to engage in this work is the deep degradation of Africa, superinduced by the slave-trade, in which Americans have taken so prominent a part.

The opposition to slavery and caste, incorporated in the principles of our organisation, the exclusion of the slaveholder from participation in our counsels, the denial of Christian fellowship in any of our churches to all who are voluntary in sustaining the relation of master to slaves: in a word, the entire freedom from all connection with this sin which a consistent membership in our Society demands, seems to indicate that we may enter this field of labour, and strive for the overthrow of the peculiar sins of this people, without fear of the taunt, "Physician, heal thyself." Will not the patrons of our Society come up to the aid of the executive committee, and as they have hitherto given a generous support to the Mendi mission, henceforth enable the Society continually to enlarge their work there, sending forth religious teachers as fast as new fields shall open, and with them religious mechanics and agriculturists, to teach them the arts of civilised and Christian life?

UNITED STATES CONGRESS, PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

January 16th, 1850.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. Seward presented a petition from 225 citizens of New York, for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and moved its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Berrien moved that the question of reception lie upon the table. Mr. King, of Alabama, said that he stated the other day, so plainly that he thought every senator and the presiding officer would understand it, that such petitions would always be objected to.

Mr. King read the Chair a lecture on its duty. It was a usage of the Senate, when such petitions were presented, to raise the question of reception, and lay that question on the table. In this way they got rid of a very disagreeable and exciting subject. The Vice-president, therefore, whenever such missiles were sent here, ought to presume objection, and put the question, "Shall they be received?" The Chair stood corrected, of course.

The "Yeas" and "Nays," as to whether the petition should be laid on the table having been ordered, were then taken, and resulted thus:—Yeas, 32.—Nays, 19. It was therefore laid on the table.

TEXAS.

Mr. Benton introduced a bill for defining the boundaries of Texas—said boundaries not to exceed 150,000 square miles in area, and for paying Texas \$15,000,000 as an indemnity for territory relinquished to the United States. He said that the State was too large, covering, as it did, seventeen degrees of latitude and fourteen of longitude, that is to say, from four degrees south of New Orleans, to four degrees north of St. Louis, and from the longitude of Western Missouri to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. The reduction he proposed on the principle of leaving all the organised countries untouched, and ceding the unsettled and wild lands to the United States. The amount of land to be

ceded, in accordance with the provisions of the bill, he estimated at 200,000 square miles. The bill also proposed that when the population of the territory ceded by Texas shall contain a population of 100,000 souls, it shall be admitted into the Union as a State. The western boundary of this new State would cover the entire front of the territories of California and New Mexico. He described the wild condition of the country proposed to be ceded by Texas, the depredatory and vicious character of the savages who roamed over it, and the necessity of establishing suitable fortifications, military posts, roads, &c., in and throughout that country. The soil, however, belonged to Texas. It was left to her with her debt, and the United States could secure the right of way, which was indispensable, only by negotiation with Texas. This necessity for the use of a portion of the territory named, was another reason for its acquisition by the United States. Another reason was, that a conflict was growing up between the people of that territory and the State of Texas; a conflict, in which the United States must sooner or later become a party, and which would be ended with the adoption of the proposition contained in the bill. He urged the subject on the attention of the Senate, and expressed the hope that the propositions would be adopted.

The bill, of which the above abstract contains all the leading features, was read and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO.

Mr. Foote, then, in accordance with his previous notice, asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill to organise a territorial government for California, New Mexico, Deseret, and, with the consent of the State of Texas, to erect the district of Jacinto into a State, to be admitted into the Union.

On Monday last, the President sent a message to the House of Representatives, conveying his views upon the admission of California and New Mexico into the Union, in which he takes the ground of non-intervention. He advises New Mexico and California to form State Governments, and apply for admission into the Union; as, by this measure, all controversy in regard to the character of their territorial governments can be avoided.

THE WILMOT PROVISIO.

The Senate was occupied, during nearly the whole of the 21st and 22nd, in listening to the speech of Mr. Cass against the unconstitutionality of the Wilmot proviso. The report of his remarks occupies twenty-three closely printed columns of the *Daily Globe*. The General seems to have left no authority unquoted, and no document uncited, from which he might gather either precedents or opinions to sustain his position. His argument appears to be based upon the interpretation of the article of the Constitution which declares that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," as being intended to apply only to the territories as *property*, and to have nothing to do with legislation for the *people* of those territories. Our space will not permit us to give even the outlines of this laborious effort to sustain the pretensions at the South, by coming to its rescue in this important controversy between the advocates of freedom on the one hand, and of slavery extension on the other.

Mr. Cass has said his say, and it now devolves upon the North to answer it. The State of Massachusetts, in common with most of the free states, holds to an opposite opinion on the doctrine from that laid down by the senator from Michigan, and it would seem to be a work worthy of the "great expounder of the Constitution," to take up the gage and vindicate the sentiments of his constituents in regard to this question. Whether Mr. Webster will do so or not, remains to be seen.

The discussion of the Vermont Resolutions upon slavery was resumed by Mr. Phelps, of that State, who addressed the Senate at some length upon the general question involved in the resolutions, and remarks were made by several Southern members.

PROVISIO FOR THE RECAPTURE OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The Senate then resumed the consideration of the special order—the bill providing for the more effectual execution of the clause of the Constitution relative to the recapture of fugitive slaves.

Mr. Mason proceeded to address the Senate upon the bill. It was based upon two clauses of the Constitution, one guaranteeing to one section of the Union the enjoyment of a certain species of property, the other requiring the extradition of fugitives from labour in one State, when fleeing into another. He contended that the Constitution made it the duty of the States to recapture and deliver the fugitives taking refuge within their borders, as positively as it exacted the delivery up of fugitives from justice. He urged further, that the master should be permitted to enter any house, or grounds, for the purpose of capturing his slave, without being liable to action for trespass. He should be allowed to use such force as might be necessary to secure the slave without committing a breach of the peace, and if the slave should make resistance, he should be permitted to use such measures as he deemed sufficient to overcome the resistance. In conclusion, he hoped the bill would pass; it was the only peaceable remedy that suggested itself to him, and if some

measures affording effectual protection were not adopted, he would recommend to his people, as a matter of necessity, to provide by law *for reprisal upon the property of the non-slaveholding States*. There was no other way by which the South could secure redress for the great loss which her people sustained in the intentional failure by the North to execute its federal obligations.

Mr. Seward gave notice of a substitute for the bill, providing in effect the same legal remedy and process for the escaped slave as the ownership of property, which was received.

Mr. Foote addressed the Senate against the printing of the amendment.

The subject was postponed.

MR. CLAY'S MOTION ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On Tuesday Mr. Clay brought forward, in the Senate, a series of resolutions upon the subject of slavery in the territories and district of Columbia, by which he hoped an amicable arrangement of all the questions in dispute between the free and slave States, growing out of the institution of slavery, might be effected.

In presenting the resolutions, Mr. Clay said:—

"I trust that, at least, some portion of that time which I have devoted with careful deliberation to the preparation of these resolutions, and to the presentation of this great national scheme of national compromises and harmony,—I hope, I say, that some portion of that time will be employed by each senator before he pronounces against the proposition." These resolutions are preceded by a preamble, as follows:—

"It being desirable for the peace, concord, and harmony of the Union of these States, to settle and adjust amicably all questions of controversy between them, arising out of the institution of slavery, upon a fair equality and just basis, therefore—

"1st. Resolved, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, *without the imposition by Congress of any restriction* to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within these boundaries.

"2nd. Resolved, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into the territories acquired by the United States from the republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient to provide by law, either for its introduction into, or its exclusion from, any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established, by Congress, in all of the said territories, not assigned as the boundaries of this proposed State of California, without the abolition of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery."

The third resolution provides that the western boundaries of Texas commence one league from the Rio Grande, thence to the southern line of New Mexico.

"4th. That Government pay the Texas debt before annexation, when Texas shall have relinquished all claim to New Mexico.

"5th. Resolved, That it is *inexpedient* to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, while that institution continues to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the district, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the district.

"6th. Resolved, That it is expedient to prohibit within the district the slave-trade, in slaves brought into it from States or places beyond the limits of the district, either to be sold therein as merchandise, or to be transported to other markets, without the district of Columbia.

"7th. Resolved, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law, according to the requirements of the Constitution, *for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labour*, in any State, who may escape into any State or territory of the Union."

The eighth and last resolution provides that Congress has no power to prohibit the trade in slaves between the States. It is as follows:—

"8th. Resolved, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States, and that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws."

Mr. Clay made a powerful speech in favour of these resolutions, but his views met with no favour from a single Southern senator. Rush of Texas, Foote and Davis of Mississippi, Mason of Va., Berrien of Ga., and Butler of South Carolina, spoke in opposition, and, up to the hour of adjournment, not a single senator came to their support.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 21.

NON-ELECTION OF DOORKEEPER AND POSTMASTER, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY VOTES.—Mr. Burt called for the order of the day, being a motion made by Mr. Ashmun, to reconsider the vote by which the House postponed the election of doorkeeper and postmaster till March, 1851, and to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. Robinson moved the call of the House. The yeas and nays were taken, and the call was refused.

The motion to lay on the table the motion to reconsider the vote postponing the election of officers was decided in the affirmative, two majority.

Mr. Burt rose to the question of privilege, and to provide for a contingency which now exists. He submitted, that by the action of the House there was now no doorkeeper and postmaster, and offered a resolution that the House having postponed the election until March 5th, the sergeant-at-arms perform the duties of doorkeeper until one can be elected.

The Chair thought that the officers could continue to do so, only by the will and sufferance of the House. They are not now clearly elected officers of the House, and the House can, if they choose, appoint the old doorkeeper or any other person to act in that capacity.

Mr. Preston King.—We have been several weeks attempting to organise the House; the real difficulty is, that the friends of slavery on both sides have been unwilling to vote for any man opposed to slavery.

The Speaker.—The question does not open that of slavery.

Mr. Johnson, of Ark., hoped the gentleman would be permitted to go on. (Hear.)

Mr. King.—This has been the difficulty on both sides of the House.

Mr. McLane, of Md., called Mr. King to order.

The Speaker decided him out of order.

Mr. King said that he was stating what was the real difficulty, and wished to move to lay the subject on the table.

Foreign Intelligence.

TEXAS.—*Austin Texas, Nov. 20, 1849.*—The Legislature has now been in session at this place nearly a month, a sufficient period to indicate what will be some of the leading measures of public policy adopted in the present session. The Governor's message, with copies of his letters to Presidents Polk and Taylor, on the subject of the claim of Texas to a part of New Mexico, you have doubtless seen ere this. The message complains that neither Mr. Polk nor General Taylor had taken any notice of those communications. * * * * *

But to return to the subject matter of the request, what was it? Why that the President should *order the army* in New Mexico to settle a question of disputed boundary between the United States Government and the State of Texas. What power has the President over the question? None in the world. He had no right, without express authority from Congress, to yield the national claim to an inch of territory. Certainly the issue was made up. Texas had asserted her claim repeatedly. The Federal Government not only failed to recognise it, but had instituted a military government over the people of Santa Fé and the rest of New Mexico. ~~Could a more distinct and definite denial~~ of the claim of Texas be given than by such an act, and the maintenance of such a government for three years? * * * * *

But admit, for the sake of the argument, that the acts of the Federal Government did not amount to an assertion of a claim to the soil and sovereignty of all that part of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, the President was equally incapable of redressing the complaints of Texas. The people of New Mexico refuse to send representatives to the Texas Legislature; they refuse to elect justices of the peace, constables, sheriffs, and chief justices, under the laws of Texas. *Until* the latter office is filled in the court of Santa Fé, no other election can be ordered. The people of Santa Fé have not taken up arms against Texas. They have not even violently resisted any of the laws, but simply refused to go into an election. But the President is requested to order the army to aid Judge Beard to organise the county of Santa Fé. Well, this is truly a novel office for an army! Does Governor Wood expect the army to *compel* the people of Santa Fé to hold an election? Until an election is held, Judge Beard cannot legally open his court. He must have a sheriff elected by Santa Fé county for that purpose, and to summon his grand and petit juries. Until this is done, Texas and her judge are in a remediless position. If the county of Santa Fé is within the proper jurisdiction of Texas, and the inhabitants of the former choose not to go into an election, there is no law, and cannot be in a free government, to force them to do so; and Texas should not call on the President to do what she has not the constitutional power to do herself. The Governor at last admits in his message that it is futile to endeavour to legislate themselves into the jurisdiction of Santa Fé, and proposes, as a dernier resort, that the "whole resources of the State" be placed at his disposal, to "raise and contest the proper issue," as he terms it. Will Texas send her arms to Santa Fé to *compel* the people to go to the ballot-boxes? Or does she intend to oust the Government the United States has set up there? Will Governor Wood or his successor measure lances with Uncle Sam? Two governments cannot concurrently exist over the same people, and the military government must be ousted to set up that of Texas. It looks like a *rash* measure the Governor suggests, but Texas has done some tall fighting, and, maybe, she can drive out Uncle Sam's troops, or, at least, *intimidate* northern politicians. *Nous verrons.*

I am glad to see the question of disputed territory handled so ably by some of the Northern press. I promise you a history and an argument of the question.

Highly flattering accounts of the El Paso country have reached us. It is said that the region affords a more inviting inducement to emigra-

tion than any other part of the continent, and I entertain little doubt of the fact. In the first place, it is the middle ground between the two Oceans, in the heart of our great Republic. Through it the great thoroughfare across the continent must pass.—Occupying as it does a position upon the table lands and valleys that are found among the scattered mountain ranges that file off from the Rocky Mountains in that region, it is the first country you reach west of the Mississippi valley, that, from natural position, should be entirely exempt from the predominant and fatal diseases of the latter region. New Mexico has been settled for 250 years, and for a century has been regarded as one of the healthiest countries of Mexico. Fruits common in the latitude of New York abound there, and in addition some kinds peculiar to a much milder climate. The pears are said to be of very superior quality, and the grapes unsurpassed, if not unequalled on the continent, while apples, peaches, plums, and cherries may be so cultivated as to attain the highest perfection. The country is eminently adapted to a northern population; the climate is much milder than that of Virginia, never as sultry, nor as variable, nor the heat of so long duration as in that of Texas. The country will be settled by a hardy northern people. Indeed, slave labour can never be made profitable, and it would be unsafe to the owner to carry that species of property where the opportunities and temptations for escape are so numerous. The cultivation of wheat corn, and other small grains, the rearing of horses and mules, and the grazing of cattle and sheep, will constitute the agricultural employments of New Mexico. Mining will soon occupy much more attention than at present, and eventually manufacturing will doubtless be introduced to an extent at least sufficient to absorb the raw material produced in the territory. Hurrah for New Mexico! Why, Sir, if Congress should give that country to this State, it will, nevertheless, be settled with hardy *Free Soilers*, who will soon outvote the slave interest. *At this moment not half of the citizens of Texas are slaveholders. The whole Rio Grande valley is settling up rapidly with a population more or less hostile to slavery: they are conscious that the welfare of the State would be promoted if it were to become a free State.* Yet there are no rash abolitionists in Texas. Though they regard slavery as a moral and political evil, they would regard it as the greatest curse to the slave, to the master, and the entire population of a slave State, to enter upon an immediate and indiscriminate system of emancipation. I believe, however, that the evil of slavery in every respect may be entirely overcome by the adoption of a system, by individual slave owners, that will secure all the highest and the most patriotic or philanthropic person could desire, while it will be fraught with no loss to the owner, (on the other hand a positive gain,) and with no disasters to the State nor to society. Of this more anon. — *New York Tribune, January 16th.*

MAURITIUS.—Advices to the 20th December mention that his excellency the Governor had sanctioned the regulations submitted for his approval for the re-establishment of a Chamber of Commerce. The loan question had not yet been discussed in Council. The result of the experiment of sending a steamer to Point de Galle, to meet the overland mail of November, was looked forward to with impatience, as upon its success may depend the establishment of a regular steam communication between the Mauritius and Aden. The expenditure of the colonies for 1849 had exceeded the revenue by about £90,000. The actual expenditure for 1850 is estimated at £268,042, after making several reductions in various departments to the extent of £60,683, as compared with the previous year; of which the principal are, £16,000 for immigration, and £11,180 in the establishments. The estimated deficit in the revenue is to be covered by an import duty of three dollars per cask on wine, and 3d. per 100 lbs. additional export duty on sugar, from the 1st of January, 1850. These two taxes will give an addition to the revenue of upwards of £30,000. At the same date the removal of the restrictions on foreign shipping was to take effect, from which much benefit to the commerce of the island was anticipated, and hopes were entertained that the differential duties on foreign goods consumed in the island would soon be equalised. Since the last departure, extensive sales of sugar had been made, at a decline of fifteen to twenty-five cents; the shipments nevertheless were not keeping pace with those of 1846, when the crop was 66,000 tons, while the present crop is estimated at 60,000 tons. Wages continued high, as other branches of industry offer greater advantages to the labourer than cane cultivation. As estates, therefore, were merely kept in cultivation, and little new land planted, the crop of 1850-51 is not likely to exceed that now making. The total quantity of sugar shipped up to the 15th December, was 53,186,809 lbs., which is considerably in excess of either of the two previous years, but falls short by five million lbs. of 1846. There was a fair supply of shipping, and freights had ruled from £3 7s. 6d. to £3 15s., to Great Britain.

THE FRENCH ISLANDS.—By letters from the French islands we learn that M. Bisette had quitted Martinique, for the purpose of taking his seat in the National Assembly, as one of the representatives of that colony. It would appear that the exertions of this gentleman, during eleven months' residence in the colony, had been beneficially exerted on the behalf of the planters. We learn from Guadaloupe that Messrs. Schœlcher and Perrinon had been elected a second time, by an immense

majority, to the National Assembly. These gentlemen are not regarded by the planters with favour, and it is not improbable that they will again endeavour to prevent their taking their seats as the representatives of that island. We regret the misunderstanding which appears to exist between men who, in past times, have laboured earnestly and honestly in behalf of emancipation. An opportunity will be afforded us, we trust, before long, of obtaining information on which we can rely, as to the results of emancipation in the French colonies, as well as in relation to those deplorable events which appear to have been occasioned by exaggerated pretensions on one side or the other.

CUBA.—The *Faro Industrial*, of 1st of January, gives a general *coup d'œil* of the progress and advance of the island of Cuba in the past year. By this sketch it is made to appear that the progress made by Cuba during 1849, in commerce, in the arts, in literature, in railroads—in short, in every possible branch of human activity and industry, is without parallel in any former year.

EXPORTATIONS FROM CUBA.

Sugar in Boxes.	1848.	1849.
Havana	995,277	838,281
Port Principe.....	177,062	186,958
Cuba	31,704	48,773
	1,204,043	1,074,112
	1848.	1849.
Coffee in arrobas, 25 lbs..	794,987	864,537
Tobacco in leaf, lbs.....	3,924,514	2,673,143

The royal company of railroads opened the public traffic on the Guaraguay branch on the 1st of August.—*Morning Chronicle, Feb. 15th.*

Colonial Intelligence.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Sugar, Rum, Molasses, and Coffee, exported during the last ten years:—

	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	Average
Sugar Hhds.	36444	40656	34199	32211	35738	39099	39647	28291	47208	44610	38391
Rum Puns.	16074	21199	11188	10631	6296	11706	15139	5381	18183	29800	14401
Molasses... Puns.	12134	15999	16179	17804	24957	21677	16763	14545	13616	10716	19154
Coffee, lbs. Dutch	2003250	3357300	1086670	2177120	1425100	1490773	501900	102450	189300	151700	1216745

TRINIDAD.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.—On the 18th of January last, a numerously attended meeting was held at Juteaux's Rooms, King-street, to receive information on slavery and the slave-trade, and to adopt a petition to Parliament, praying for an alteration in the Sugar Act of 1846. The Hon. H. Scott was unanimously called to the chair. A number of interesting speeches were delivered, chiefly those by Messrs. Alexander and Candler, deputies from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Their sentiments in reference to the Sugar Act of 1846 are most enlightened, and met the hearty approbation of all parties present at the meeting—the approval, of course, was prompted by various motives—in some by principle, in others by interest. The visit of these enlightened and disinterested men will, no doubt, issue in good to the colony. They have given a stimulus to our lethargic community, and their truthful representations to the Home Government will not be unheeded.

It is to be hoped that the petition adopted by the meeting will be numerously signed by all parties. Its prayer concerns both the people and the planters.

The following resolutions were adopted:—

Moved by Charles Fabien, Esq., that the Hon. Henry Scott do take the chair; seconded by the Rev. John Law, and carried.

Moved by W. J. Curtis, Esq., that Charles Fabien, Esq. do act as secretary to the meeting; seconded by the Rev. Alex. Kennedy, and carried.

Moved by John Candler, Esq.:—

“That this meeting considers slavery to be a cruel violation of human rights, inimical to the interests of civilisation and religion, and disgraceful to the Christian profession in those countries of Europe or America in which it is sanctioned by law.”

Seconded by the Rev. Alex. Kennedy, and carried unanimously.

Moved by H. H. Anderson, Esq.:—

“That the persons present at this meeting approve of the principles, and sympathise with the objects of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and pledge themselves to promote the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade by every means in their power.”

Seconded by M. M. Philip, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Moved by G. W. Alexander, Esq.:—

“That this meeting considers the assimilation of the duties on British and foreign sugar, so far as the latter is produced by slave-labour, to be grossly inconsistent with that regard to humanity, which led to the abolition by Great Britain of the Anglo-African slave-trade, and the long and costly efforts that have been made by the British people for the general abolition of the slave-trade; and as no less inconsistent with the noble example set by the people and Government of Great Britain in the

abolition of British colonial slavery at an expense of twenty millions of pounds sterling."

Seconded by the Rev. John Law, and carried unanimously.

Moved by Alexander Fitzjames, Esq. :—

"That this meeting having learnt that treaties have been long since entered into between the Government of Great Britain and those of Brazil and Spain for the abolition of the slave-trade, in consideration for which treaties large sums of British money have been paid; and that these treaties have not been observed by the said foreign Governments, but that they persist in holding as slaves vast numbers of persons introduced into their territories or colonies in defiance of provisions of said treaties; this meeting deem it to be a duty to adopt the following petition to the British Houses of Parliament.

" PETITION.

"The petition of the inhabitants of the island of Trinidad,

"Humbly sheweth,—That your petitioners having learnt with deep sorrow that treaties entered into many years since between the Governments of Great Britain and those of Brazil and Spain, for the abolition of the slave-trade by the latter powers, have been shamefully violated by them, and that vast numbers of persons are held as slaves who have been introduced into Brazil and Cuba in contravention of those treaties who were, and still are, entitled to immediate freedom by virtue of provisions of said treaties: Your petitioners do, therefore, earnestly solicit your honourable House so to modify the Sugar Act of 1846, as not to allow sugar, the produce of Brazil or the West Indian colonies of Spain, from being introduced for consumption in Great Britain, so long as any part of the existing treaties remain unfulfilled."

Seconded by the Rev. G. Brodie, and carried unanimously.

Moved by the Rev. G. Cowen :—

"That the thanks of this meeting are justly due, and given to the Hon. Henry Scott for his impartial conduct in the chair."

Seconded by G. W. Alexander, Esq., and carried unanimously.

GRENADA.—ARRIVAL OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—We have to record the arrival of two vessels with African immigrants: the barque *Ceres*, with eighty-five Africans—six, however, died of dysentery; three days after, another ship, the *Brandon*, sixteen days from Sierra Leone, with 461 Africans, unexpectedly arrived. Most of these people were captured on the Coast. Before being shipped, they are said to have been nearly starved to death, and yet only two deaths occurred. 538 effective labourers have thus been added to the population of Grenada in the space of three days. The *Brandon* is a fine ship, of 1,200 tons burthen.

Miscellanea.

GROWTH OF COTTON BY FREE LABOUR.

At the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, held on the 11th of February last, the following interesting particulars were presented :—

AUSTRALIA.

In the annual reports of the last two years, mention has been made of the efforts of Dr. Lang to establish the cultivation of cotton in the district of Moreton Bay. These efforts have been continued until the autumn of last year, when the rev. gentleman, having despatched between 600 and 700 emigrants, returned to Australia in the last of his chartered vessels. This board, having felt strong interest in the success of that project, was informed by Dr. Lang, that an ordinance had been issued with the assent of the Colonial Office in 1847, whereby a free passage, or bonus of £18, from the colonial funds, was offered on the importation of European vine dressers, and that he had made application for the extension of the same privileges to his cotton growing emigrants, but had been refused. The board, though it would not have originated or concurred in the propriety of offering such a bonus, finding such an infraction of sound principle actually in force in reference to foreign vine growers, supported, in a memorial to Earl Grey, Dr. Lang's view, and claimed for his British emigrants to Moreton Bay the application of the ordinance of 1847, under such regulations as the colonial government might impose. At the same time, the board prayed for the reconsideration of the minimum price now fixed upon the sale of waste lands, claiming for the thinly-peopled district of Moreton Bay a temporary reduction of the price, until that portion of New South Wales should approach more closely in power of development to the districts of that colony which had been longer settled and more densely peopled. Opportunity was also taken to complain of the rules by which the emigration commissioners were restricted to giving assistance to agricultural labourers and mechanics, and repelling the same classes from towns. Earl Grey's reply was adverse on all the points; the preference given to foreign vine cultivators was justified on the plea of more skill being required in them, than in the cultivators of cotton—the minimum price of land was defended on

the ground that the present price is established by Act of Parliament, after very comprehensive inquiries, both by a committee of the House of Commons, and by other authorities, as better calculated than a lower price to conduce to the prosperity of new settlements, and that injustice would be done to those who had already purchased lands; and on the last point, his lordship observed, that the regulations which define the kind of persons to whom passages may be granted at the public expense, are drawn up in the colony, where the best means exist of judging of the sort of labour it requires, and that he was not prepared to interfere with the wishes of the inhabitants on the subject. The board considered it to be its duty to demur to all the points of Earl Grey's reply.

NATAL.

The encouraging advices which have constantly arrived from this most promising settlement, will have been read by the members of the chamber. Mr. Galloway, formerly of this town, whose purchase of land for the purpose of cultivating cotton was mentioned in the last annual report of the chamber, forwarded to the board the first pod of cotton produced by plants raised from seed taken from Manchester, and stated that the plants were bowed to the earth by the weight of the pods which they were bearing. The quality of the small sample sent was admirable, and was valued at 16d. per lb., at the time when the finest Sea Islands were quoted at 20d. to 2s. During the last twelve months, the advantages which this hopeful province holds out to emigrants have attracted, and continue to attract much attention, and the chamber will be glad to hear that a very considerable number of persons, most useful in the settlement of new countries, have selected that colony for the scene of their labours. In July last, your board called the attention of the Secretary of State for the colonies to the import duties, and the licence tax imposed in the colony on the exporters of goods from Natal into the Zuloo country. His lordship's reply stated, that the system of levying duty both at the Cape and at Natal did not now exist, unless in cases where goods had paid consumption duties at the Cape, and were afterwards taken to Natal; and that the licences imposed at Natal are similar to those which have always been required from all persons who proceed beyond any part of the Cape of Good Hope to traffic with the natives, and that it is probably considered by the local authorities a necessary security in regulating the intercourse with savage and warlike tribes.

JAMAICA.

The attention of the board has been drawn to the facilities which might be opened for a large supply of cotton, by an application of capital in the island of Jamaica. A gentleman of high respectability, who is known to one of your directors, has favoured the board with the result of an experiment already made, which, if it can be repeated, will surely attract the attention of the capitalists. It is stated that

The cost of clearing 10½ acres of virgin land, digging, planting, weeding, and picking, amount to £83 16 4
Ginning, bagging, and twining..... 35 13 11

Making the total outlay £119 10 3
The produce was 8,000 lbs. of clean cotton, at
6d. nett £200 0 0
2,000 lbs. stained, at 4d..... 33 6 8
..... 233 6 8

Leaving a surplus of £113 16 5

It is represented that there are immense plains in Jamaica lying utterly waste, though admirably fitted for the growth of cotton. Capital alone seems to be wanting, and your board would gladly hope that the statements now made will cause such an inquiry into the case, as will at an early period render that island a valuable source of supply of cotton.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged :—

	Donations.	Subscription.
<i>London.</i> —Alexander, G. W.	52 10 0	
Hitchcock, Mr.		2 2 0
<i>Cheltenham.</i> —Ball, Mrs.		1 0 0
Capper, Mrs.		1 1 0
Clutterbuck, Miss		0 10 0
Aldridge, Miss		0 5 0
Cumming, Mrs.		1 1 0
Cumming, Miss M. A.		1 1 0
Yerbury, Miss		1 1 0
Friend, A.		0 2 0
<i>Kendal.</i> —Credson, W. D.		5 0 0
<i>Hitchin.</i> —Auxiliary	15 0 0	
<i>Newcastle.</i> —Richardson, George		2 2 0
<i>Chesham.</i> —Pryor, Elizabeth		1 1 0
<i>Maidstone.</i> —Wheeler, Benjamin		1 0 0